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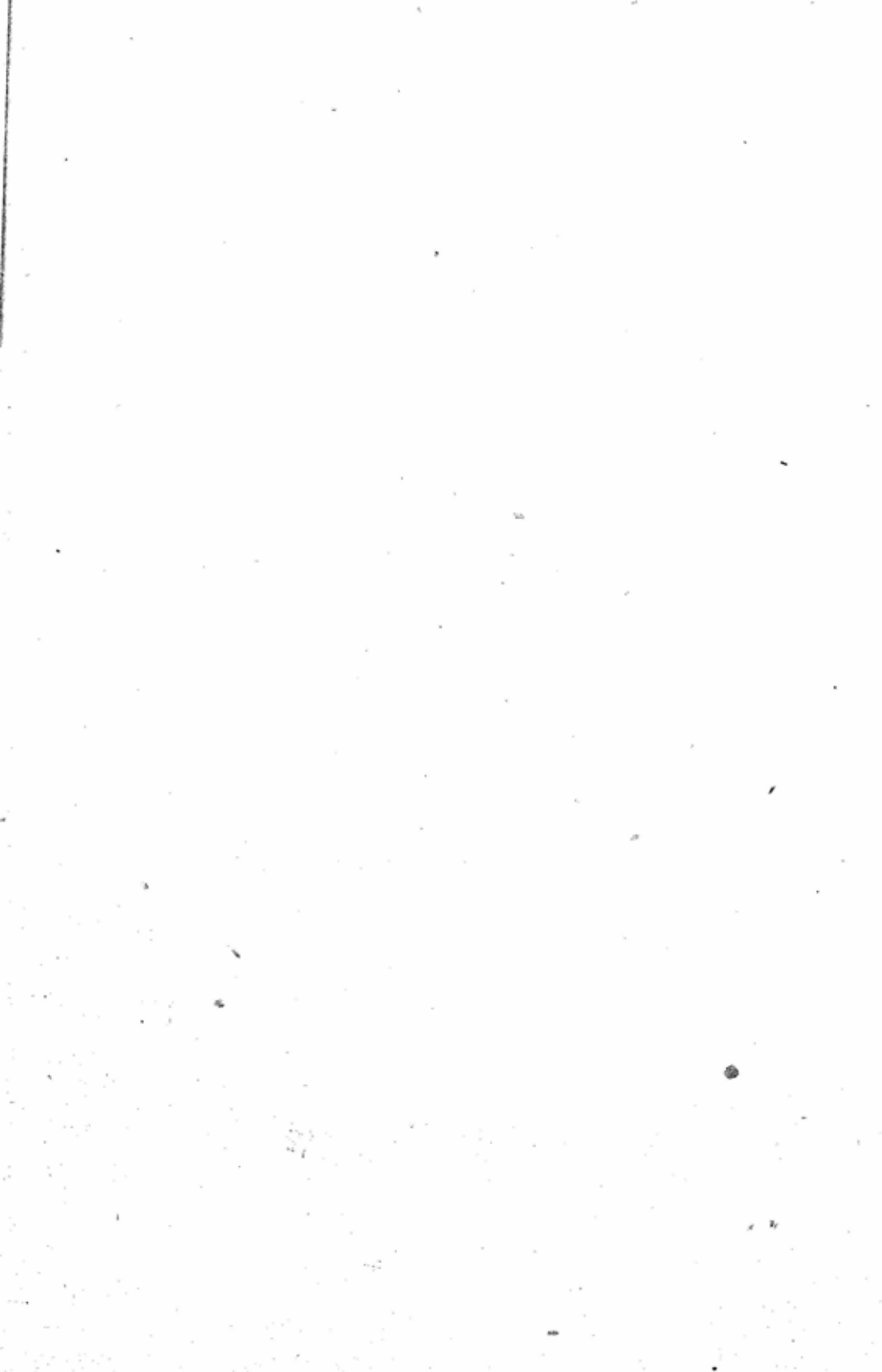
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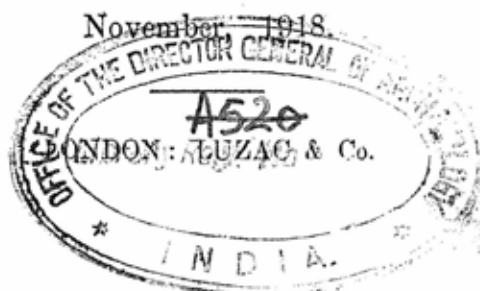
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(FOUNDED 1904.)

For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science
and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring
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"My father went to fight Khūn Sam Chōn by the right. Khūn Sam Chōn pressed on to meet him by the left. Khūn Sam Chōn charged in force. My father's people fled in haste, broken and scattered."

Horais l'interversion de "droite" et "gauche," qui n'est qu'un lapsus sans importance, cette traduction me paraît irréprochable, et je la cite non pour la condamner, mais pour la défendre au contraire contre une critique injuste de M. Petithuguenin. Dans ses "Notes critiques pour servir à l'histoire du Siam" (Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, tome XVI, 3), M. Petithuguenin dit :

—Je traduis "Khun Sam Chon chargea les troupes de première ligne (*phrai fa na*), obligeant mon père à fuir en grande déroute." Les raisons que Bradley donne pour lire "les gens de mon père s'enfuirent," au lieu de "mon père s'enfuit" ne me paraissent pas convaincantes, et je lis, comme Schmitt, *lui pho ku*, et non *sai*.—

La critique de M. Petithuguenin est mal fondée, car le texte porte surement ไส้ et non ไถ้. Ceci n'est pas une opinion personnelle, mais un fait : le trait qui distingue ไส้ de ไถ้ est parfaitement net, le *mai muen* l'est aussi, et il n'y a pas trace d'accent. D'ailleurs ไพร่ ผ่า หน้า ไส้ est une expression toute faite qui revient quelques lignes plus bas (1.21). La lecture ไถ้ "mettre en fuite" se trouvant ainsi écartée, les raisons que donne M. Bradley pour traduire "les gens de mon père s'enfuirent" reprennent toute leur force, et sa traduction doit donc être préférée.

L. 16 พู่ก ตาย ญิง พู่ก

M. Bradley traduit simplement "My father died," ce qui ne correspond qu'à la première moitié de la phrase. Le P. Schmitt et M. Petithuguenin traduisent plus correctement : "Mon père mort, il me resta mon frère aîné."

L. 21-23.

ไพร่ ผ่า หน้า ไส้

ลูกเจ้า ลูก ขุน ผู้ใด แล ตาย หาย กว่า อ้ายว (เรอ) นพ เชื้อ
 เดอ คำ มน ข้าง ขุน มย ย เจ้า ไพร่ ผ่า หน้า ไท บ
 หมาก บ พ เชื้อ มน ไว แก่ ลูก มน ต้น

"Among common folk of the realm, among lords and nobles, if any one soever dies or disappears from house and home, the Prince trusts, supports, aids. They are always getting children and wives, are always growing rice, (this) folk of the realm, subjects of the Thai. Their groves of areca, their groves of betel, the Prince trusts wholly to them to keep for their own children."

Cette traduction n'est pas très satisfaisante, et la peine que M. Bradley s'est donnée pour la justifier prouve bien qu'il n'en était lui-même qu'à moitié satisfait. Ainsi il traduit พระ by "Prince," mais il note lui-même : "In the literal sense of father the word พระ occurs thirteen times in the opening section of this inscription. As honorific prefix to the hero's name it occurs later ten times and in all of these I render it Prince. Twice only, here (1.22) and in 1.24 does it occur without any limiting word, and in both I render it the Prince, as suiting best both syntax and sense." En ce qui concerne พระ, M. Bradley avoue que "in the midst of this serious writing พระ sounds surprisingly like a bit of modern half-slang in the sense of: are great hands to, are forever. But there seems no escape from it." Enfin, la place inattendue du sujet พระเจ้า ใน à la fin de la phrase suggère au traducteur ces réflexions : "The introduction of the subject after the statement is apparently complete is quite foreign to present literary usage, but is a frequent device of racy talk, and follows well the lead given by พระ above."

Cette traduction apparaît donc un peu comme un pis-aller. Mais avant de soumettre le texte à un nouvel examen, pour voir s'il ne serait pas possible d'en tirer un sens plus satisfaisant, il importe de faire à la transcription de M. Bradley les menues corrections que voici : au lieu de พระ (ll.22 et 24), l'original porte nettement พระ, et à la place de พระเจ้า je lis พระเจ้า.¹

1. A propos de พระ M. Bradley constate lui-même que le trait qui distingue พระ de พระ est visible sur la pierre : "The stroke is there, but the stone cutter has the habit of carving just such a stroke from the angle of the adjacent letter by way of flourish." Cette affirmation est absolument gratuite.

En ce qui concerne la traduction, je note d'abord que Schmitt traduit ¹ໂດ໊໊ par "loin de," et M. Bradley par "from." Il semble que ce soit forcer le sens du mot siamois. D'autre part, il est bien tentant de considérer les quatre mots ²ຕ ດາຍ ພາຍ ກວ່າ comme une de ces expressions rimées que M. Bradley a eu le mérite de reconnaître et de signaler un peu partout dans l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng. Or, chez les Dïoi ou Thaïs des rives du Si-kiang, il existe un mot *kwa* qui correspond à peu près au siamois ³ไคว; et, dans ce dialecte, "il est mort" se dit *té kwa lew*.¹ Il est fort probable que c'est ce même mot *kwa* qui figure dans l'expression ²ຕ ດາຍ ພາຍ ກວ່າ et que celle-ci signifie simplement : "tombe malade et meurt."

Ce qui suit a évidemment pour objet de définir l'attitude du roi quand un de ses sujets meurt. Or, deux inscriptions du roi Lu'dai (deuxième successeur de Rāma Khamheng) disent en termes identiques qu'en cas de mort d'un de ses sujets le roi conserve les biens du père pour le fils et les biens de l'aîné pour le cadet
 ພໍ່ ດາຍ ໄວ້ ແກ່ ດູກ ພໍ່ ດາຍ ໄວ້ ແກ່ ນ້ອງ.²

Le passage de l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng que je discute en ce moment, commençant par ¹ໄພ່ ຝ່າ ນ່າ ໃສ່.....ຜູ້ ໄດ.....ຕາຍ et se terminant par ²ໄວ້ ແກ່ ດູກ ນັ້ນ ດັ່ນ, ce passage apparaît comme un développement de la formule ພໍ່ ດາຍ ໄວ້ ແກ່ ດູກ, donnant l'énumération des biens à conserver au fils du défunt. La présence du mot ³ດັ່ນ à la fin de la phrase semble indiquer en effet qu'il a été question dans ce qui précède de plusieurs objets. Il s'agit d'examiner si le texte depuis ⁴ຍ້າວ ເຮັດນ ຈົນ ຫາ ⁵ມາ ຫມາກ ມາ ພຸດ ສາມາit être interprété comme une énumération des biens du défunt.

1 Esquirol et Williatte. Dict., dioi-français. Hongkong, 1908.

2 Inscr. de Nagara Jun, 2^e face, 1.44. L'autre inscr. a été publiée BEFE-O, XVII, 2, p. 25.

๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ signifiant "maison" ne fait pas difficulté.

๑๒๖๖ "vêtement" n'a rien d'inattendu ici. Quant à ๑๒๖๖ (écrit avec un ๑ probablement pour le distinguer de ๑๒๖๖ "négociier" qui apparaît quelques lignes plus haut), je propose de l'identifier avec le siamois ๑๒๖๖ "adhérer." En laotien l'expression ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ "il n'a plus que ses vêtements attachés à son corps" se dit d'un homme tombé dans la misère. ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ a donc simplement le sens de "vêtements."

๑๒๖๖ "éléphant" et ๑๒๖๖ pour ๑๒๖๖ "croc à éléphant" forment, réunis, une expression toute faite signifiant "éléphants." En laotien, pour prendre un nouvel exemple tiré de ce dialecte qui est souvent si proche de la langue de Rāma Khamheng, la phrase ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ veut dire "il a des éléphants." C'est avec ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖, ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖, ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ un nouvel exemple de ces groupes de mots accouplés deux par deux, qui sont si fréquents dans les langues thaïes et môn-khmères, et dont l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng offre de si nombreux exemples.

๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ "les enfants et les femmes" n'appelle aucun commentaire.

๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ "les greniers à riz." ๑๒๖๖ qui s'est perdu en siamois s'est conservé en laotien (๑๒๖๖) et en shan (၂၆) avec le sens du siamois ๑๒๖๖.

๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ semble être considéré par M. Bradley comme un synonyme de ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖ ๑๒๖๖. Si l'on connaissait mieux l'organisation sociale des Thaïs de Sukhodaya, on serait sans doute capable de faire

une distinction très nette entre les ไพรี ฝา "au visage brillant" et les ไพรี ฝา "esclaves des Thaïs." La difficulté de traduire ไพรี ฝา ชาวไท par "esclaves" réside dans le fait que c'est le mot ไท qui, dans l'inscription, semble avoir ce sens. Mais "serviteur" ou "corvéable" paraît être une traduction acceptable.

ป่า หนอง ป่า พญ ไม่ offre aucune difficulté.

Restent les mots มั่น et พ่อ เชื้อ dont je n'ai pas encore rendu compte. มั่น désigne le défunt, ainsi que le prouve sa présence dans l'expression ไก่ แก่ ลูก มั่น สิ้น Quant à พ่อ เชื้อ, son sens propre de "père de famille" convient fort bien ici. On notera en effet qu'il apparaît deux fois dans la phrase, la première fois après ย้ายมา เถื่อน, la seconde fois après ป่า หนอง ป่า พญ: or, la maison et les jardins sont précisément les biens immobiliers qui se transmettent de génération en génération, depuis le chef de la famille "พ่อ เชื้อ."

Voici donc en définitive comment je traduis la phrase dont je viens de discuter le texte:

"Si un homme du peuple, un prince ou un noble tombe malade et meurt: (ses biens, savoir) la maison de ses pères, ses vêtements, ses éléphants, ses enfants et ses femmes, ses greniers à riz, ses serviteurs, les plantations d'arec et de bétel de ses pères, (le roi) les conserve en totalité aux enfants du défunt."

LI. 28-31: คนใด ช้าง มา หา พา เมือง มา, ค ขอย เหนือ เพื่อ
(อ) กมน บั ม ช้าง บั ม มา บั ม บัว บั ม นาง บั ม ึ่ง (อ)
(น บั) ม ทอง ไท แก่ มน ของ มน คง (ป) นบ้าน เปน (มอ)
(ง) ค (ช) ำ (ส) อก ชำ เลือ หว, พัง หว รบ กั ค บั ชำ บั ค

"Whoever comes riding his elephant to visit the city, comes to the moat and waits beside it for me. Has he no elephants, no horses, no slaves, no damsels, no silver, no gold, I give to him. Has he wealth to found towns and cities to be foes and enemies, to be strongholds for war and fighting, I kill not nor smite him."

Cette traduction soulève quelques objections. D'abord, elle suppose l'usage de la première personne dans un texte qui depuis la ligne 18 cesse de l'employer. Ensuite le mot-à-mot : $\text{มา} \text{กั}$ "comes to the moat" $\text{เฝ้าย} \text{เฝ้า}$ "waits beside it" $\text{เพื่อ} \text{กั}$ "for me" est bien peu satisfaisant.¹

En fait le texte original porte nettement $\text{มา} \text{กั} \text{เฝ้าย} \text{เฝ้า}$ เพื่อ กั , et plus bas, au lieu de $\text{ของ} \text{มณ} \text{คง}$, il y a $\text{เฝ้าย} \text{มณ} \text{คง}$.

Avec ces lectures rectifiées, les difficultés disparaissent :

กั écrit actuellement กั a à peu près le même sens que มา de sorte que l'expression $\text{มา} \text{มา} \dots \text{มา} \text{กั}$ est tout à fait dans le style de l'inscription. Il s'agit d'un individu qui vient visiter la ville, ou, plus vraisemblablement, qui vient y chercher l'hospitalité.

เฝ้าย , en siamois เฝ้าย , mais en laotien เฝ้าย , signifie "aider."

$\text{เฝ้า} \text{เฝ้า}$ est probablement une autre forme (archaïque?) de $\text{เฝ้า} \text{เฝ้า}$ "s'inquiéter de." กั en siamois a aujourd'hui le sens de "ramasser," mais chez les Thais du Si-kiang le mot *ku* signifie "soigner, s'occuper de," sens assez voisin du siamois กั dans l'expression $\text{กั} \text{เมือง}$ "sauver le pays." Ainsi les mots $\text{เฝ้าย} \text{เฝ้า} \text{เพื่อ} \text{กั}$ constituent une ex-

¹ Au lieu de $\text{มา} \text{กั}$, on attendrait $\text{มา} \text{กั} \text{กั}$. Quant à เพื่อ il a toujours dans ce texte le sens conjonctif de "parce que."

pression relouante, ayant pour sujet sous-entendu le roi, et signifiant "aider, prendre soin de."

La suite de la phrase, depuis ^๒มีช้าง jusqu'à ให้แก่ฉัน, ne présente aucune difficulté: le roi donne au visiteur tout ce dont il a besoin. Puis, ^๓ช่วยฉัน "il l'aide" ^๔ทรงเป็นบ้านเป็นเมือง. ทรง, aujourd'hui "mesurer," devait avoir à l'origine le sens plus général de de "compter," car dans l'inscription de Nagara Jum (2^{me} face, l.4) il apparaît dans l'expression ^๕นับทรง. En laotien ^๖ทรงเป็น veut dire "examiner, considérer." Donc, la phrase ^๗ทรงเป็นบ้านเป็นเมือง peut se traduire mot-à-mot "compter être pays," en d'autres termes "considérer comme sa patrie."

En définitive, toute la phrase depuis ^๘คนใด se traduira comme suit: "Quiconque vient à éléphant pour visiter le pays et y chercher l'hospitalité, (le roi) l'aide, s'inquiète et prend soin de lui; s'il n'a ni éléphants, ni chevaux, ni esclaves, ni femmes, ni argent, ni or, (le roi) lui en donne; il l'aide et le considère comme du pays."

La phrase relative aux générosités du roi à l'égard des étrangers se termine avec le mot ^๙เมือง. La suite ne veut certainement pas dire que Rāma Khamheng ne fait pas de mal à ses ennemis: cette proposition serait contraire à ce que nous savons de la psychologie de ce roi conquérant. Le texte dit très clairement que si le roi entre en possession (^{๑๐}ได้) d'ennemis, il ne les tue ni ne les frappe; en d'autres termes, qu'il ne fait pas de mal à ses adversaires une fois qu'ils sont tombés en son pouvoir, comme prisonniers par exemple.

L. 41: ^{๑๑}กลางเมือง, ^{๑๒}ตกน้ำ ^{๑๓}น้ำ ^{๑๔}น้ำ ^{๑๕}น้ำ ^{๑๖}น้ำ ^{๑๗}น้ำ ^{๑๘}น้ำ ^{๑๙}น้ำ ^{๒๐}น้ำ ^{๒๑}น้ำ ^{๒๒}น้ำ ^{๒๓}น้ำ ^{๒๔}น้ำ ^{๒๕}น้ำ ^{๒๖}น้ำ ^{๒๗}น้ำ ^{๒๘}น้ำ ^{๒๙}น้ำ ^{๓๐}น้ำ ^{๓๑}น้ำ ^{๓๒}น้ำ ^{๓๓}น้ำ ^{๓๔}น้ำ ^{๓๕}น้ำ ^{๓๖}น้ำ ^{๓๗}น้ำ ^{๓๘}น้ำ ^{๓๙}น้ำ ^{๔๐}น้ำ ^{๔๑}น้ำ ^{๔๒}น้ำ ^{๔๓}น้ำ ^{๔๔}น้ำ ^{๔๕}น้ำ ^{๔๖}น้ำ ^{๔๗}น้ำ ^{๔๘}น้ำ ^{๔๙}น้ำ ^{๕๐}น้ำ ^{๕๑}น้ำ ^{๕๒}น้ำ ^{๕๓}น้ำ ^{๕๔}น้ำ ^{๕๕}น้ำ ^{๕๖}น้ำ ^{๕๗}น้ำ ^{๕๘}น้ำ ^{๕๙}น้ำ ^{๖๐}น้ำ ^{๖๑}น้ำ ^{๖๒}น้ำ ^{๖๓}น้ำ ^{๖๔}น้ำ ^{๖๕}น้ำ ^{๖๖}น้ำ ^{๖๗}น้ำ ^{๖๘}น้ำ ^{๖๙}น้ำ ^{๗๐}น้ำ ^{๗๑}น้ำ ^{๗๒}น้ำ ^{๗๓}น้ำ ^{๗๔}น้ำ ^{๗๕}น้ำ ^{๗๖}น้ำ ^{๗๗}น้ำ ^{๗๘}น้ำ ^{๗๙}น้ำ ^{๘๐}น้ำ ^{๘๑}น้ำ ^{๘๒}น้ำ ^{๘๓}น้ำ ^{๘๔}น้ำ ^{๘๕}น้ำ ^{๘๖}น้ำ ^{๘๗}น้ำ ^{๘๘}น้ำ ^{๘๙}น้ำ ^{๙๐}น้ำ ^{๙๑}น้ำ ^{๙๒}น้ำ ^{๙๓}น้ำ ^{๙๔}น้ำ ^{๙๕}น้ำ ^{๙๖}น้ำ ^{๙๗}น้ำ ^{๙๘}น้ำ ^{๙๙}น้ำ ^{๑๐๐}น้ำ

"In the midst of this city of Sukhothai there is a gushing rock-spring of water."

Le mot ^{๑๐๑}น้ำ n'est autre que le mot Khm̃r *trapeang* "étang, mare, pièce d'eau," ainsi d'ailleurs que l'a fait remarquer M. L. Finot

(B. E. F. E.-O., XVI, 3, p. 24 note 1). Ce vocable existe encore dans la toponymie de Sukhodaya : deux grandes pièces d'eau situées dans l'enceinte de la ville portent l'une le nom de *สระพังทอง*, l'autre celui de *สระพังเงิน* (cf. *เรื่องเที่ยวเมืองพระร่วง*, ch. V). C'est peut-être à l'un de ces deux étangs que l'inscription de Rāms Khamheng fait allusion.

Ll. 49-53: *เมอช กราน กัณห์ ม พัน มัยย ม พัน หมา กัณห์
พันคอกไม้ มหมอนนั่งหมอน โพนบ ีรพาร กัณห์ โอ
(ย) ทาน แด่ ป แด่ ญบ ถ้านไป สด ญคค กัณห์ เกอ อ
(ไ) ีร ญ(ก) พัน เมอช จกค เข้า มาวยง รยง กณญเอื่อไว
ญก (พ) น เท้า หวด ถาน คั มงค*

"In these presentations (of Kathin) there are all sorts of money, all sorts of fruits, all sorts of flowers; there are cushions for sitting and cushions for reclining to accompany the yellow robes offered year by year; and they take with them lan leaves to designate the recipients of the Kathin, going even unto the forest-monastery yonder. When they would return into the city, they stretch in line from the forest-monastery yonder unto Hua Lan Dam, making the air resound..."

Le mot *พณ* que M. Bradley traduit hypothétiquement par "all sorts of" est, comme l'avait dit Schmitt et comme l'a récemment répété M. Finot (loc. cit.), le mot khmèr *phnom* qui signifie "montagne" et qui peut se traduire ici par "monceau."

M. Bradley traduit *ญบ ถ้าน* "they take with them lan leaves," identifiant apparemment *ญบ* avec le siamois *ญบ* "pincer, prendre avec trois doigts." Mais, autant que je sache, les fidèles qui vont faire l'offrande du Kathina n'ont pas l'habitude de tenir à la main des feuilles de latanier. Le texte doit avoir une autre signification. Par bonheur ce mot *ญบ* se trouve dans une autre inscription, celle de Nagara Jum (1re face, l. 28) : *ญบหมื่นสี่พันหกสิบ*. Cette expression numérale ne pouvant, à cause du contexte, signifier autre chose que 24,060, le terme *ญบ* a sûrement la valeur de "deux", et c'est conséquemment la forme

pleine du mot ^๒ย qui n'est plus employé aujourd'hui que dans ^๒ย ^๒สิบ et dans ^๒เดือน ^๒ย. Le mot suivant ^๒ล้าน (avec le *mai tho*) a évidemment le sens de "million." Il faut donc couper la phrase après ^๒หมอน ^๒โนน et traduire: ^๒บริวาร ^๒ภิกข ^๒โอย ^๒ทาน ^๒แต่ ^๒มี ^๒แต่ ^๒นับ ^๒ล้าน "les accessoires du kathina donnés en offrande chaque année s'élèvent à deux millions." (Pour des expressions analogues, cf. l'inscription khmère de Sukhodaya et sa version siamoise, B. E. F. E.-O., XVII, 2).

Dans sa traduction, M. Bradley se contente de transcrire ^๒หัว ^๒ล้าน ^๒ดำ "Hua Lan Dam", mais dans ses notes il le traduit par "Black Lan Head" comme s'il y avait ^๒ดำ et non pas ^๒ดำ. Je n'ai d'ailleurs aucune traduction meilleure à proposer pour ^๒หัว ^๒ล้าน ^๒ดำ.

Quant à ^๒บงก ^๒ que M. Bradley rend par "making the air resound," c'est encore un mot khmèr, employé du reste en siamois, et signifiant "honorer, rendre hommage." La musique dont il est question ensuite a donc une valeur rituelle et n'est pas un simple divertissement.

LI. 64-65: ^๒โอย ^๒ทาน (พระ)มหาเถร ^๒สง (งข) ^๒ราช ^๒ปราชญ ^๒รณ ^๒น ^๒บ ^๒ค ^๒ก ^๒ไ ^๒ตร
^๒หัว ^๒กก (ก) ^๒ว ^๒ป ^๒คร ^๒ใน ^๒เม ^๒ง ^๒น ^๒ก ^๒ค ^๒น

"... an offering unto Phra Mahathen, the Arch-priest, the scholar who studied the Tripitaka unto its end, the head of his order, and above every other teacher in this realm."

* Le troisième mot de la ligne 64 est certainement ^๒ก ^๒ ainsi que l'avait correctement lu Schmitt, mais cette petite modification n'entraîne aucun changement dans la traduction de M. Bradley.

Les premiers caractères de la ligne 65 doivent se lire, non pas ^๒หัว ^๒กก ^๒ mais ^๒หัว ^๒กก ^๒. Le mot ^๒หัว ^๒กก ^๒ apparaît une seconde fois dans l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng, à la ligne 112, dans l'expression

ด้วย ด้ว หตวก. Il se retrouve aussi dans l'inscription de Nagara Jum (1re face, 1.23) également couplé avec ด้ว dans la phrase : ด้ว ด้ว หตวก ไท ทาย.....M. Finot a judicieusement fait remarquer que l'expression laotienne ด้ว ไท savant "correspond sans doute à l'expression plus archaïque ด้ว หตวก" (B. E. F. E.-O., xvii, 5, p. 166, note 2). Ici donc, les mots หตวก กว่า signifient : "plus savant que (tous les autres maîtres dans le royaume)."

L. 67 : ไหญ่ สง งาม(ม น)ก

"large, lofty, and exceeding fair".

La vraie lecture est งาม แก ก. J'ai rencontré plusieurs fois cette locution adverbiale dans l'épigraphie de Sukhodaya, soit seule, soit précédée de นักหนา. Elle a simplement la valeur du superlatif, de sorte que la traduction de M. Bradley peut être conservée intégralement.

L. 75 : สรคอง

"There is Sridaphongs.....".

M. Finot a déjà fait remarquer que ce mot qui, d'après M. Bradley "still puzzles all editors", est le vocable sanskrit *saridbhanga*. "barrage" (B. E. F. E.-O., XVI, 3, p. 24, note 1). Il est juste de reconnaître que le mot est passablement écorché : suivant les principes de l'écriture de Rāma Khamheng, il devrait être écrit สรรคองค.

LI. 83—84 : วัน เดือน คม เดือน โลก แปด วัน วัน

น เดือน เตม เดือน ทัง แปด วัน

"From the day when the moon was quenched and reappeared, for eight days, and from the day when the moon filled out her orb, for eight days (more) . . ."

Cette traduction est à reprendre complètement. วัน เดือน คม c'est le jour de la nouvelle lune, เดือน โลก (=ออก) แปดวัน le huitième

jour de la lune croissante, วัน เดือน เติม le jour de la pleine lune, เดือน ว่าง (et non ทว่าง) แปดวัน le huitième jour de la lune décroissante. Ces quatre jours sont les jours d'uposatha, en siamois วัน พุธ.

Le mot ปอฏ dans le sens de l'actuel ๒๒ est attesté dans l'épigraphie (par exemple, inscr. de Nagara Jum, 1re face, ligne 1). Quant au mot ว่าง, je ne l'ai pas rencontré dans les inscriptions, car la seconde quinzaine du mois est considérée comme peu propice aux fondations religieuses et autres cérémonies que les inscriptions ont pour objet de commémorer, mais M. Finot signale son emploi au Laos (B. E. F. E.-O., XVII, 5, p. 32).

Ll. 95-97 : ใน กวาง มาตวน น ม ษธา ของ อพน อพน หนึ่ง ช
(ษ)ธา พระมาต อพน หนึ่ง ช พทท บ(...๒)ดาว หน น ๒๒
พวง ษธามาตร

"In the midst of this palm-grove are two salas: one called Sala Phrā Mat (of the Golden Buddha), one called Phuttha B—. This stone slab, named Mānāṅg Sīla Batrā (Thought lodged in Stone) . . ."

L'original ne porte pas กวาง "au milieu de" mais กวาง= laotien กวง "à l'intérieur de."

Le nom de la seconde sālā paraît être พุทธ ษธา: c'est un nom bien banal, mais il ne semble guère possible de lire autre chose.

ษธามาตร est presque certainement une mauvaise orthographe du sanskrit, *śilāpāṭṭa* "plaque de pierre, stone-slab" et n'est par conséquent qu'une traduction du siamois ๒๒ดาว หน. Même en conservant l'orthographe *pātra*, la signification reste la même, car *pātra*, outre son sens de "bol," a aussi, suivant les lexicographes, celui de *pattra* "feuille." Laissant provisoirement de côté le mot หนึ่ง, il importe d'examiner si c'est l'inscription même de Rāma Khamheng qui est désignée ici. La solution de ce problème a son importance, car la datation du document en dépend en partie.

On sait que l'inscription contient trois dates dont la plus récente est çaka 1214=1292 A. D. Celle-ci était généralement considérée comme la date à laquelle avait été gravée la stèle, lorsque M. Pelliot souleva l'objection suivante (B. E. F. E.-O., IV, p. 245): "La dernière date donnée de cette inscription est 1292 A. D., mais ce n'est pas une raison pour dire que l'inscription est de 1292, il y est en effet parlé (l.101 et suiv.) d'un monument entrepris en 1287, et qui ne fut achevé qu'après six ans; après quoi on éleva des colonnes en pierre autour de ce monument, et ce travail dura trois ans; ceci met donc au moins en 1296."

M. Bradley ne semble pas avoir connu cette note de M. Pelliot (laquelle n'est d'ailleurs énoncée qu'incidemment dans une étude qui n'est pas spécialement consacrée à l'histoire du Siam), et il admet que la date de l'inscription est bien çaka 1214=1292/93 A. D. Voici ses raisons: "Of the earlier history of the stone absolutely nothing is known save what is said in the inscription itself, ll.80-97. While the language there leaves something to be desired in the way of explicit connection of the various statements, it seems impossible to mistake its general import; namely, that this stone was one of four prepared at the same time, and—though this is not said—presumably of similar or identical content. The four were dedicated with imposing ceremonies religious and civic. Three of them were set up in separate places which are named. The date was 1214 (Mahasakarāt), equivalent to 1293 A. D." Et plus loin dans les notes de sa traduction, il ajoute: "L. 80. Having sketched his early life, his prosperous reign, the splendor of his capital and its surroundings, Prince Khūn Ram Khām-heng turns to note what he considers the three most important events of his reign: (1) The preparation, consecration, and installation of four inscribed monuments of stone, of which we understand that our own was one. (2) The exhuming of the sacred relics of Buddha..... (3) The invention of the art of writing." Et encore ceci: "L. 92. The reader will notice that the text nowhere distinctly says that the four inscriptions so abruptly spoken of here were engraved on the "stone-slabs" mentioned in l.82. Yet unless we connect the writing with the slabs, there seems to be not the slightest reason for saying anything about either. But absolutely convincing on this point seem to be the words in l.96: ᨶᩣ᩠ᨦ ᨶᩣ᩠ᨦ ᨶᩣ᩠ᨦ — which can mean nothing else than the very stone and the very inscription we are now studying."

Cette argumentation m'avait semblé à première vue assez séduisante pour que j'en accepte les conclusions, et, ayant eu à citer incidemment l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng, j'avais adopté 1292 A. D. comme sa date probable, ajoutant en note que les objections de M. Pelliot citées plus haut ne sont pas absolument décisives: "Rien dans l'inscription, disais-je, n'oblige à croire que ces travaux furent consécutifs. Ils peuvent fort bien avoir été simultanés." (B. E. F. E.-O., XVII, 2, p. 82).

M. Finot vient tout récemment de combattre l'opinion que j'avais exprimée (B. E. F. E.-O., XVII, 5, p. 10, note 3): "Cette probabilité, dit-il, ne paraît pas très forte. D'abord rien n'indique que le roi ait fait graver sa stèle immédiatement après l'érection du ceṭiya: elle n'a pas pour objet spécial de commémorer cette oeuvre; elle la rappelle seulement comme un des faits marquants du règne qu'elle se propose de glorifier. Par conséquent, même en admettant l'interprétation de M. Coëls, le document peut être de plusieurs années postérieur à 1292-1293. Mais de plus, il semble bien qu'en énumérant l'une après l'autre avec leur durée respective, la construction du ceṭiya et celle de l'enceinte, le roi ait eu en vue deux périodes consécutives; autrement il eût suffi de dire que l'ensemble des travaux avait duré six ans. Le temps consacré à l'achèvement de l'oeuvre est une donnée propre à en rehausser la valeur et le mérite; le temps exigé par les divers éléments de l'édifice est un renseignement technique qui n'avait, du point de vue du rédacteur de l'inscription, qu'un faible intérêt. Je crois donc plus probable que la stèle ne fut gravée qu'en 1296 au plus tôt, et peut-être quelques années après."

M. Finot semble croire que j'ai adopté 1292 A.D. comme date probable de l'inscription, parce que je pense que celle-ci a été gravée à l'issue des travaux commencés en 1287 et ayant, suivant mon comput, duré six ans. En réalité, c'est pour une tout autre raison (que j'ai eu tort de ne pas indiquer plus explicitement): c'est parce que j'ai adopté l'interprétation de M. Bradley reproduite plus haut. Il est bien évident en effet que si l'inscription est une des pierres qui furent taillées, inscrites et inaugurées en 1292, cette date est nécessairement celle du document lui-même. Et alors il faut admettre que les travaux commencés en 1287 n'ont pas duré plus de six ans, c'est à dire que la construction du ceṭiya et celle de l'enceinte ont été simultanées

Toute la question est donc de savoir si l'opinion de M. Bradley est bien fondée : je l'avais cru, mais je dois avouer qu'après un examen plus attentif du texte je ne le crois plus.

Le passage auquel M. Bradley attache le plus d'importance et qu'il considère comme "absolument convaincant," est l'expression de la l. 96 ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ "which can mean nothing else than the very stone and the very inscription we are now studying." Il faut noter d'abord que l'expression employée ordinairement pour désigner une pierre inscrite n'est pas ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ mais ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ , le mot même qui apparaît à la l. 92. D'autre part, la présence du démonstratif ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ ne prouve pas forcément que la pierre ainsi désignée soit celle sur laquelle ce mot est gravé. Le texte de l'inscription affectionne l'emploi du démonstratif : ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ , ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ , pour ne citer que deux exemples empruntés au passage même que je discute en ce moment. Toute pierre remarquable (trône, banc ou autre) située à proximité de la stèle devait tout naturellement être désignée par l'expression ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ . On voit ainsi que ces mots ne sont pas "absolument convainquants" et qu'ils peuvent désigner autre chose que l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng.

M. Bradley admet que les ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ de la ligne 92, qui sont certainement des inscriptions, sont identiques aux ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ taillés en 1292 et nommés à la l. 80, parce que "unless we connect the writing with the slabs, there seems not to be the slightest reason for saying anything about either." Cet argument n'est pas plus convaincant que le précédent : le découps est une des caractéristiques les plus frappantes de l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng, et si tout le passage en question depuis la ligne 80 jusqu'à la ligne 97 est réellement consacré à l'histoire de la stèle, il n'y a aucune raison non plus pour nous dire que le roi va deux fois par mois faire à dos d'éléphant ses dévotions au monastère des Araññika, ni pour nous apprendre qu'il y a deux Sālās dans le Bois des Palmiers.

Voyons d'ailleurs ce que le texte dit de ces ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩣ de la ligne 80 et s'il est légitime d'y voir des inscriptions. D'abord il n'est pas

sûr qu'il y en ait plusieurs. Le texte dit simplement ^๕ ๙ ^๕ ๙ ^๕ ๙ ^๕ ๙
 ๙๙๙ ๙๙๙ ๙๙๙ ๙๙๙ ๙๙๙ ๙๙๙ sans aucune marque de pluriel.
 Ensuite, en quoi consistent cette "consécration" et ces "imposantes
 cérémonies religieuses et civiles" que M. Bradley trouve mentionnées
 dans ce passage? Les jours d'uposatha, les theas viennent s'asseoir sur
 la (ou les) pierres pour réciter le Dharma, et les autres jours le roi
 vient s'asseoir à la même place pour traiter des affaires du gouverne-
 ment. Ce n'est pas là une cérémonie particulière ayant eu lieu à une
 date déterminée, mais une routine journalière. Et d'ailleurs une cou-
 sécration consistant à s'asseoir sur l'objet à consacrer est tout à fait in-
 attendue, surtout au Siam. M. Bradley reprochait au P. Schmitt d'avoir
 traduit ๙๙๙ ๙๙๙ ๙๙๙ ๙๙๙ ๙๙๙ "la pierre qui sert ici de trône
 est appelée Mananga-Cila mātra", et faisait observer ironiquement:
 "This stone with its pyramid-top would make a "trône" less comfort-
 able even than some we hear of now-a-days". Et pourtant M. Bradley
 lui-même admet que l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng est une des
 pierres sur lesquelles les theas vinrent s'asseoir. Si la chose est, de
 son propre aveu, impossible, il en résulte que son interprétation doit
 être erronée.

En fait, je crois que ce passage a un tout autre sens, et voici
 comment je le comprends :

En 1292 A. D. Rāma Khamheng fait tailler et placer dans le
 Bois des Palmiers un banc de pierre (๙๙๙ ๙๙๙). Sur ce banc, les re-
 ligieux viennent se réunir et faire les récitations rituelles les jours
 d'uposatha. Les autres jours, c'est le roi qui y prend place pour traiter
 des affaires publiques; les jours de la pleine lune et de la nouvelle
 lune, (ne pouvant siéger), il se rend à dos d'éléphant au monastère
 des Araññika. La brusque entrée en scène des trois inscriptions
 (๙๙๙) de ๙๙๙, du ๙๙๙ et du ๙๙๙ est évidemment
 assez déconcertante, mais insuffisante, je crois, pour justifier l'inter-
 prétation de M. Bradley. Peut-être avaient-elles avec le banc de
 pierre un rapport qui nous échappe aujourd'hui mais qui était suffisa-
 ment clair pour le rédacteur de l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng.
 Elles avaient pu par exemple être burinées à l'occasion de l'inaugura-
 tion du siège royal et pour annoncer cet événement, tout de même qu'en

889 A. D. le roi khmèr Yaçovarman proclamait à grand renfort d'inscriptions digraphiques la fondation du Cīvaçrama. Ou bien encore donnaient-elles sur ces assemblées quotidiennes, auxquelles présidait le roi, des détails que notre texte n'a pas le loisir de donner et pour lesquels il renvoie à ces autres stèles. Pour appuyer cette dernière hypothèse, on peut citer un exemple analogue tiré de l'inscription de Nagara Jum (2^{me} face, l. 47): après avoir énuméré les mérites du roi Lu'dai, le texte ajoute: คำนี้ กล่าว คนน ถ่อก ถ่นอย.....(lacune).....พน พัสการ ใส่ กล่าว ไว ใน จารึก ขนหม มี่ ใน เมือง สุโขทัย.....(lacune).....นกน พระ มหาธาตุ พูน แด จารึก ขนหม นึ่ง มี่ ใน เมือง.....(lacune).....ขนหม นึ่ง มี่ ใน เมือง ฝ่าย ขนหม นึ่ง มี่ ใน เมือง สรทวง..... etc.....“Ce texte-ci ne donne qu' un abrégé,.....les détails se trouvent sur la stèle placée à Sukhodai.....devant la Grande Relique; il y a encore une autre stèle à Mu'ang.....une à Mu'ang Fang, une à Mu'ang Saraluang.”

Quelle que soit du reste la valeur de cette parenthèse relative aux inscriptions, c'est à mon sens le banc de pierre de la 1.80 qui reparait à la 1.96 (๒๓๖ หิน น) dans la description du Bois des Palmiers: après avoir dit plus haut son origine et expliqué son usage, le texte ajoute ici que ce banc de pierre voisine avec deux sālās et qu'il se nomme พนัง ขัณฑปัทท. M. Bradley indentifie พนัง à pāli *manam* = *mano* “esprit, pensée”, mais les seules formes sous lesquelles ce mot ait passé en siamois sont พนั and มโน; la forme พนัง = *manam* est d'autant plus inattendue ici qu'en pāli ce composé serait régulièrement *manositāpatta*. Il faut donc chercher une autre explication. ขัณฑปัทท est, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, un équivalent très exact de ๒๓๖ หิน น et comme cette dalle de pierre est très probablement le banc ou le trône dont il a été question précédemment, on attendrait ici un mot tel que พนัง: ๒๓๖ หิน น ขอ พระ พนัง ขัณฑปัทท “cette dalle de pierre s'appelle พระ พนัง ขัณฑปัทท (siège fait d'une dalle de pierre)” serait tout à fait conforme au génie de la langue siamoise et à la coutume qui consiste à donner aux objets royaux un nom sanskrit ou pāli, traduction pure et simple du nom vulgaire. Seulement le texte ne porte pas

𑜋𑜪𑜫 mais 𑜋𑜪𑜫. Ce mot ne pourrait-il pas être un dérivé de 𑜋𑜪𑜫 "s'asseoir" et avoir le sens de "siège," synonyme par conséquent de 𑜋𑜪𑜫 ? Encore que ce mode de dérivation soit étranger aux langues thaïes, la chose n'est pas absolument impossible. Mais il n'est même pas besoin de recourir à cette hypothèse hasardeuse. Il existe en effet en môn un mot *mañ* (prononcé banang) qui signifie "trône" et qui peut fort bien avoir été emprunté par les Thaïs : la nasalisation de l'occlusive labiale devant *n* est un phénomène phonétique sur lequel il n'est même pas besoin d'insister.

Il est d'autant plus surprenant que M. Bradley n'ait pas reconnu dans ce **อาคาร หิน** un trône, et l'ait confondu avec l'inscription, qu'il cite lui-même un passage extrait du **หนังสือ พระ ราชประวัติ พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าแผ่นดิน ๔ รัชกาล** racontant la découverte de la pierre par le futur roi Mahā Mongkut. Dans ce passage, il est question d'une triple découverte, savoir : 1) une dalle de pierre (**แท่น ศิลาแท่น หิน**) sur laquelle la croyance populaire prétendait qu'il était imprudent de s'asseoir ; 2) une stèle en caractères khmèrs (**เสา ศิลาจาก อักษร เขมร เสา ๑**) qui est l'inscription bien connue de **Prah Bāt Kamrateng Añ Sūryavamṣa**, alias **Phya Lu'dai** ; 3) une stèle en caractères thaïs (**เสา ศิลาจาก อักษร ไทย โบราณ เสา ๑**) qui n'est autre que l'inscription de **Rāma Khamheng**. Il est impossible de se méprendre sur la nature de la dalle de pierre (**แท่น ศิลา=อาคาร หิน**) que tout le monde peut voir à l'heure actuelle au **Vat Phra : Kèo** de Bangkok, et que dans le livre **เรื่อง เทว เมือง พระ ร่วง** qu'Elle écrivit en 1907 avant Son avènement, SA MAJESTÉ décrit très heureusement "**อาคาร หิน**" อัน ใช เปน ประโยชน์ ทัง เปน ชรรมาศน์ ทัง เปน ราชบัลลังก์ ที่ ออก ว่า ราชการ.

En résumé, ce passage a probablement une tout autre signification que celle que M. Bradley a cru pouvoir y trouver, et on ne peut en déduire que la stèle fut taillée et consacrée en 1214 çaka=1292

A. D. Par suite, les objections de M. Pelliot aggravées de celles de M. Finot reprennent toute leur force, et il est à peu près certain que l'inscription a été burinée au moins six *plus* trois ans après le commencement des travaux exécutés à Sajjanālaya, dont il est question à la l. 106.

Tous les éditeurs de l'inscription ont admis que ces travaux ont commencé en 1209 çaka=1287 A. D. Mais voici que M. Finot vient nous dire que tout le monde s'est trompé et que le texte porte en réalité 1207 ! "Dans ce qui précède, dit-il, j'ai admis avec tous les interprètes de l'inscription que la date initiale du calcul était 1209 çaka. Il est pourtant intéressant d'observer,—ce que personne encore n'a fait, à ma connaissance—que le dernier chiffre n'est pas 9, mais 7 ; seulement le synchronisme de l'année du Porc ne convient pas à 1207, et c'est apparemment cette discordance qui a suggéré au P. Schmitt une correction tacite, que tout le monde a acceptée après lui." (B. E. F. E.-O., XVII, 5, p. 11 note). L'observation de M. Finot est rigoureusement exacte et le texte porte sans doute possible : $\text{𑂔𑂧𑂱𑂲} \text{ 𑂔𑂧 𑂔 𑂧𑂱}$. Seulement, 1207 ne fut pas une année 𑂧𑂱 mais une année 𑂔𑂧𑂱 . Il faut donc de toute façon introduire une correction, et lire soit $\text{𑂔𑂧𑂱𑂲} \text{ 𑂔𑂧 𑂔 𑂔𑂧𑂱}$ "1207 année du Coq," soit $\text{𑂔𑂧𑂱𑂲} \text{ 𑂔𑂧 𑂔 𑂧𑂱}$ "1209 année du Porc." En théorie, il semblerait plus légitime de corriger un simple chiffre que de changer 𑂧𑂱 en 𑂔𑂧𑂱 . Mais dans le cas présent, comme la faute est presque certainement imputable au lapicide, il s'agit de rechercher lequel, du chiffre ou du nom, il lui était le plus facile de confondre et de transcrire inexactement. Or ω 7 et ξ 9 diffèrent considérablement, tandis que, étant donné le système d'écriture de Rāma Khamheng, 𑂔𑂧𑂱 (𑂔𑂧𑂱) peut facilement devenir 𑂧𑂱𑂱 (𑂧𑂱) pour peu que le texte copié par le lapicide ait été écrit négligemment. La "correction tacite" du P. Schmitt ne s'impose donc pas avec la force de l'évidence, et la date 1207 çaka=1285 A. D. a au moins autant de titres à faire valoir que celle de 1209=1287 A. D. qui a été adoptée jusqu'ici.

Au cas où cette année 1207 çaka serait la véritable date du commencement des travaux de Sajanālaya, et en tenant compte des observations de MM. Pelliot et Finot qui ont sans doute raison de considérer la construction du ceṭiya (6 ans) et celle de l'enceinte (3 ans) comme consécutives, quelle est la date la plus haute à laquelle puisse remonter l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng ? — $1207 + 6 + 3 = 1216$ çaka (1294 A.D.), va-t-on me répondre. — Sans doute, si les Siamois compaient comme nous. Mais quand les Siamois, et les Indochinois en général, veulent supputer le nombre d'années qui s'est écoulé entre deux événements, ils comptent pour une unité l'année où s'est passé le premier événement (même s'il a eu lieu vers la fin de l'année) et pour une unité l'année où s'est passé le second (même s'il a eu lieu au début de l'année). Que cette manière de compter ait été en usage à Sukhodaya aux XIII^{me}-XIV^{me} siècles, c'est ce qui ressort clairement des calculs exposés dans l'inscription de Nagara Jam.¹ Donc, supposant les travaux commencés en 1207 çaka, la construction du ceṭiya ayant duré 6 ans, nous compterons : 1207 un, 1208 deux, 1209 trois, 1210 quatre, 1211 cinq, 1212 six. La construction du ceṭiya fut donc terminée en 1212 çaka (1290 A.D.). Si la construction de l'enceinte fut entreprise immédiatement après, dans le courant de cette même année 1212 çaka, les 3 ans que dura ce travail nous mènent de la même manière en 1214 çaka, puisque : 1212 un, 1213 deux, 1214 trois.²

1 C'est ainsi que cette inscription compte 139 ans entre l'année du Lièvre (1141 çaka) et l'année 1279, et compte 99 ans entre cette année 1279 et l'année du Porc (1377 çaka). Cette manière de compter est, je le reconnais, déconcertante, mais ce n'est pas une raison pour dire comme M. Finot que "le roi Sūryavṃṣa qui se targne d'être un savant chronologiste fournit des dates qui justifient assez mal ses prétentions, car il n'en est pas une qui ne soit entachée de quelque inexactitude" (B. E. F. E.-O., XVI, 3, p. 25). Il suffit d'avoir vécu tant soit peu en contact avec des Indochinois pour savoir que cette façon de compter est la seule employée par eux, et qu'un enfant né dans les derniers mois de l'année du Chien a déjà trois ans dans les premiers mois de l'année du Porc, (parce que : Chien 1, Chien 2, Porc 3) alors qu'en réalité il n'a pas plus de 14 ou 15 mois. Il ne sert à rien de dire que cette façon de compter est absurde. Il suffit qu'elle soit la seule en usage au pays dont nous étudions la chronologie, pour que nous soyons obligés d'en tenir compte, et de faire abstraction de nos méthodes pour raisonner d'après elle.

2 Sans compter que le panégyriste devait avoir tendance à prendre des fragments d'année pour des années entières, car comme le dit justement M. Finot, "le temps consacré à l'achèvement de l'oeuvre est une donnée propre à en rehausser la valeur et le mérite."

Nous voici donc à nouveau en face de cette date 1214 çaka=1292 A. D. que M. Pelliot avait combattue, que j'avais néanmoins adoptée à la suite de M. Bradley, et contre laquelle M. Finot vient à son tour de se prononcer. Cette date reste naturellement hypothétique, puisque le point de départ des calculs est douteux (1207 ou 1209). Mais s'il est vrai que le raisonnement de M. Bradley soit insuffisant pour pouvoir dater l'inscription de 1292 A. D., il est juste de reconnaître que les objections de MM. Pelliot et Finot sont également insuffisantes pour faire rejeter cette même date, et il est assez amusant de constater que c'est M. Finot lui-même qui vient, avec sa lecture rectifiée 1207, fournir un nouvel argument en faveur de la date qu'il combat.

Qu'on ne m'accuse pas de raffiner et de vouloir chercher de mauvais prétextes pour réhabiliter une date que j'ai adoptée autrefois : elle garde, je le répète, un caractère hypothétique. Mais si je continue à la considérer comme *probable*, c'est qu'elle a l'avantage, ainsi qu'on va le voir, de nous faire entrevoir l'objet même de l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng.

Il est sans exemple qu'une inscription n'ait pas été gravée à l'occasion d'un événement déterminé. Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse dans l'ancienne épigraphie indochinoise, khmère, chame ou autre, citer une seule *praçasti* (panégyrique) composée uniquement pour perpétuer sur la pierre les vertus ou les hauts faits du roi régnant, et, en fait toutes les inscriptions thaïes connues commémorent quelque fondation religieuse ou quelque cérémonie. Or, si l'on admet avec M. Finot que "la stèle ne fut gravée qu'en 1296 au plus tôt, et peut-être même quelques années après," l'inscription ne se rapporte plus à aucun événement précis. Que si au contraire la stèle date de 1214 çaka (1292 A. D.), il est à peu près certain qu'elle a pour objet de commémorer l'inauguration du Trône de pierre มั่งคั่ง รัตน ราช อาสน ฐาน auprès duquel, ainsi que je l'ai indiqué plus haut, elle se trouvait placée (รัตน อาสน ฐาน วัด พนม).

Mais, dira-t-on, l'installation de cette dalle de pierre, même si elle devait servir de trône royal, était-elle donc si importante qu'elle justifiait une pareille inscription ? Sans doute, cette fondation ne représente pas un gros travail matériel, mais elle avait une signification morale que les éditeurs ne semblent pas avoir reconnue, et

qui ressort cependant assez nettement des termes mêmes de l'inscription. Voici ce que dit le texte :

๑) คาร หน น ช ม

นาง ษฎามาตร ต่ถาก ไว หน (จก ทั)งหตาย เหน (ไต้)

๙๘ พ.ชน พระ(รา)มคัแห่ง ตก พ.ชน ษร นทรา ทตย เป

(น.)ชน (?) น^๓ เมือง ขรรค์ขณ(นา)ต. สโชไททอง มา กาว ตา

¹⁰⁰ (แ)ถ ไท เมือง ไค้ หลา พ้า(.....)ไท ชาว อ ชาว ของ มา ออ

ก ๓๒๐๗ สัก ปุ.กร ให้ ขด (เขา)พระธาตุ ออก ทองหลาย

Le P. Schmitt coupait la phrase après *WW* (1.97) et après

𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀺𑀢 (1100), et traduisait : “ La pierre qui sert ici de trône est appelée Manāṅga-ṣila mātra ; on l’a fait en pierre pour être remarqué par tout le monde. Fils du roi Ṣṛī Indrāditya, le prince Rāma-Khomhēng roi de Ṣṛī Sajjanālaya-Sukhodaya, fit réunir tous les sujets de son royaume ; les Makaos, les Laos, les Thais, tant ceux qui habitent les rives des cours d’eau que ceux qui habitent la brousse. En 1209, (lire 1207) ṣaka, année cyclique du cochon, il fit déterrer toutes les reliques. . . . ”

M. Bradley coupe la phrase autrement. Il considère la proposition commençant par *W TH WTS J. N.* comme un complément du verbe

1914, et voici comment il traduit: "This stone slab named Mănăng Sila Batră is set here that all may see (that) Prince Khūn Phră Ram Khămhaeng, son of Prince Khūn Sī Inthārathit, is lord in this realm of Sī Sūchānalāi-Sūkhotāi, alike over Ma, Kao, Lao, and Thai of regions under the firmament of heaven, . . . Thai dwelling on the U, dwelling on the Khong. When was reached 1209 (lire 1207) of the era, year of the Hog, he had the sacred relics exhumed. . . "

M. Bradley a certainement eu raison de réunir, comme il l'a fait, les deux propositions en une seule, car dire simplement que "cette pierre a été placée ici pour qu'on la voie" est à peu près dénué de sens. Seulement, son interprétation de $\mathcal{N} \mathcal{O} \mathcal{O} \mathcal{N}$ comme une formule

introduisant la date 1209 (lire 1207) est tout à fait impossible : ce n'est pas une raison parce que les inscriptions emploient des expressions souvent obscures, pour leur prêter de pareilles façons de s'exprimer. Quand les millésimes sont précédés d'une conjonction, c'est toujours d'un mot signifiant "jusqu'à, arrivé à", mais dans l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng les deux autres dates sont données *ex abrupto*, sans aucune formule d'introduction. Il en résulte donc qu'au lieu de commencer la phrase relative aux reliques, les mots **มา ออก** terminent la phrase précédente, et que le texte doit se traduire : " Cette dalle de pierre s'appelle Manāṅg Cīlāpātra, et elle a été placée ici *afin que tous puissent voir le roi* Phra : Rāma Khamheng, fils du roi Cṛī Indrāditya, etc., etc.,¹ *sortir*." Appliqué au roi, ce mot **ออก** " sortir " a presque un sens technique : il désigne l'action de sortir des appartements privés pour venir traiter, en un lieu convenable, des affaires publiques. On retrouve ce mot dans tous les préambules des anciennes lois, généralement ainsi conçus : **ศุภมัตถ์ ศักการ.....พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว.....เสด็จ ออก ณ พระที่นั่ง.....พร้อมด้วยพระบรมวงศานุวงศ์** etc. C'est encore ce même mot qui est venu tout naturellement sous la plume de SA MAJESTÉ, ainsi qu'on l'a vu plus haut, justement à propos de ce Trône de pierre : **เป็นราชบัลลังก์ที่ ออก ว่าราชการ**.

Cette interprétation cadre d'ailleurs très bien avec ce que l'on sait déjà de ce Trône, puisque, à la 1.87, l'inscription nous a dit que les jours autres que les jours d'uposatha, le roi s'y assied et y traite des affaires du gouvernement.

L'installation de ce Trône de pierre d'où le roi Rāma Khamheng se montrait à tous ses sujets (**ทรงทศาย เห็น...มา ออก**) était donc un

¹ La traduction que M. Bradley a donnée des titres de Rāma Khamheng est parfaite, et je ne la reproduis pas.

événement assez remarquable pour justifier une inscription commémorative¹, surtout si l'hypothèse que j'ai formulé plus haut est juste, et que cette fondation ait coïncidé avec l'achèvement des travaux de Sajanālaya, qui furent sans doute, et en tous cas restèrent aux yeux de la postérité, la grande oeuvre de son règne². Notons enfin que cette même année 1214 çaka=1292 A. D. fut la première année où le royaume de Sukhodaya entra en relations directes avec la Cour de Chine³, et que cet acte par lequel Rāma Khamheng s'affirmait à l'extérieur n'est peut-être pas sans corrélation avec l'installation du Trône de pierre, par lequel il s'affirmait à l'intérieur de son propre royaume.

On voit ainsi qu'il y a toutes sortes de bonnes raisons pour considérer la fondation du Trône de pierre en 1292 A. D. comme l'événement que l'inscription a pour but de commémorer. Cette interprétation aurait, par surcroît, l'avantage d'expliquer l'ordre dans lequel se succèdent les dates du texte : 1214, 1207, 1205. Si l'inscription est un simple panégyrique glorifiant les grandes actions de Rāma Khamheng, on ne voit pas pour quelle raison la date la plus récente est donnée la première, et la date la plus ancienne la dernière : c'est l'inverse qu'on attendrait. Mais si l'objet de l'inscription est la fondation du trône en 1214 çaka=1292 A. D., l'ordre des diverses dates s'explique aisément. Après avoir fait l'éloge du roi et celui de la capitale, l'auteur de l'inscription relate la fondation du trône en 1214 çaka ; ensuite il rappelle la construction du grand cetiya de Sajanālaya dont la mention devait naturellement venir après celle des

1 Et peut-être même plusieurs, car comme je l'ai indiqué plus haut, il se peut que les trois inscriptions mentionnées aux lignes 92 et suivantes aient eu précisément le même objet.

2 Une inscription inédite de Sukhodaya qui fait l'historique de la dynastie dit à propos de Rāma Khamheng :

ถูก พ่อ ขุน ศรี อินทราชคัย ผู้ พงษ์ ชื่อ พ่อ ขุน รามราช...(lacune)...
กรรม ก่อ พระศรีรัตนมหาธาตุ อัน ห้าง ใน ศรีสัตนาไถ.

3 "La 29^{me} année tche-yuan (1292), le 10^{me} mois, au jour kia-tch'en le siuan-wei-sseu de la région du Kouang-tong (Canton) envoya quelqu'un, apporter à la capitale la missive d'or présentée par le maître du royaume de Sien."—Yuan-che cité in B. E. F. E.-O., vol IV p., 242.

Il y a dans les annales chinoises des mentions du Sien plus anciennes, mais celle-ci est la première qui parle d'une démarche du roi de Sukhodaya.

Les caractères de la l. 108, que M. Bradley a laissés en blanc, se laissent assez aisément lire ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้, le dernier mot ^{ไ้}ไ้ commençant la phrase suivante. M. Bradley a d'ailleurs très exactement deviné le sens de la lacune, et sa traduction "And so there are these strokes of Siamese writing because that prince (put them to use)" peut être intégralement conservée, en supprimant les parenthèses.

Ll. 108-109 :

ชนพรรวรณคแห่งนั้นหา
แปล ท้าว แปล พรญา แก ไ้ ทังหลาย หา แปล
ครู อาจารย์

"That Khūn Phrā Ram Khāmhaeng sought to be ruler and lord unto all the Thāi;—sought to be preceptor and instructor..."

A en juger par d'autres exemples, le mot ^{ไ้}ไ้ dans l'expression ^{ไ้}ไ้ a simplement le sens affirmatif. Ce n'est pas à proprement parler le verbe "chercher", mais cette particule qui figure dans les expressions actuelles ^{ไ้}ไ้, ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้. C'est ainsi qu'à la l. 120 l'expression ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้ signifie simplement "l'océan comme frontière", "the ocean for boundary", et que dans l'inscription de Nagara Jum (2^{me} face, l. 19 à 22) l'énumération des divers chefs de province du royaume est énoncée de la manière suivante :

^{ไ้}ไ้...^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้, ^{ไ้}ไ้...^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้ etc.

Ll. 111-112 :

^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้ (ย)าดวกก

La vraie lecture est celle du P. Schmitt: ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้. Le mot ^{ไ้}ไ้ qui figure déjà à la l. 65 a été discuté plus haut.

L. 113 :

หา คน จกก ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้ ^{ไ้}ไ้

"There cannot be found a man to equal him – able to subdue, etc."

Il semble qu'il vaille mieux couper la phrase après ^{มิได้} : après avoir dit que Rāma Khamheng n'a pas son pareil, l'auteur aborde un nouveau sujet et énumère ses conquêtes. ^{ด้าว} a sans doute simplement la valeur du passé.

Ll 116-117 :

^{เมือง} ^{หวง}

^{หนอน} ^{จอด} ^{คน} ^{ที่} ^{พระ} ^{บาง} ^{แพ} ^ท

"Southward he won the men of Phra Bang, Phraek".

^{คน} ^{ที่} Gandī est un nom de pays qui se trouve aussi dans l'inscription de Nagara Jum (2me face, l. 19).

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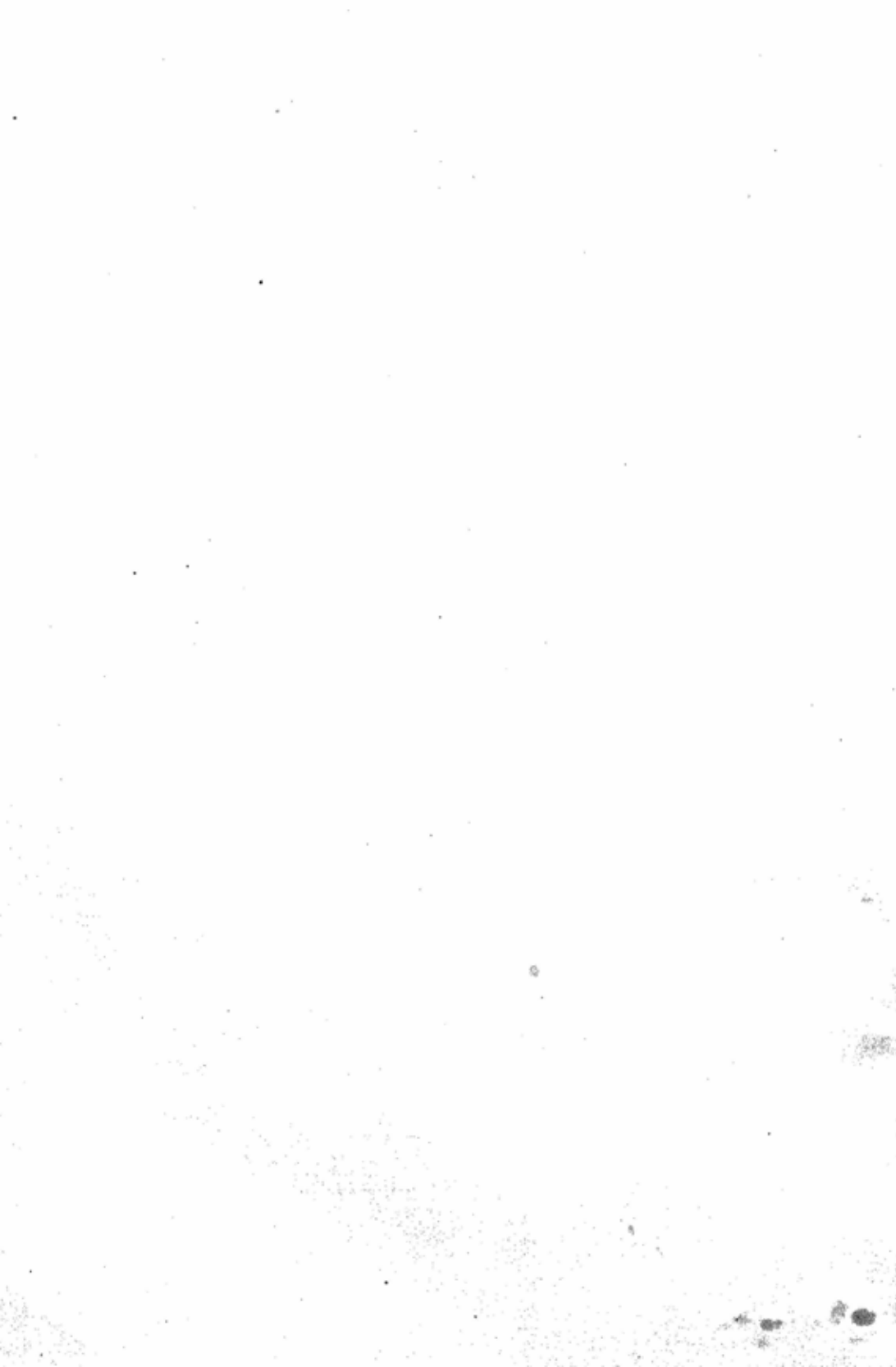
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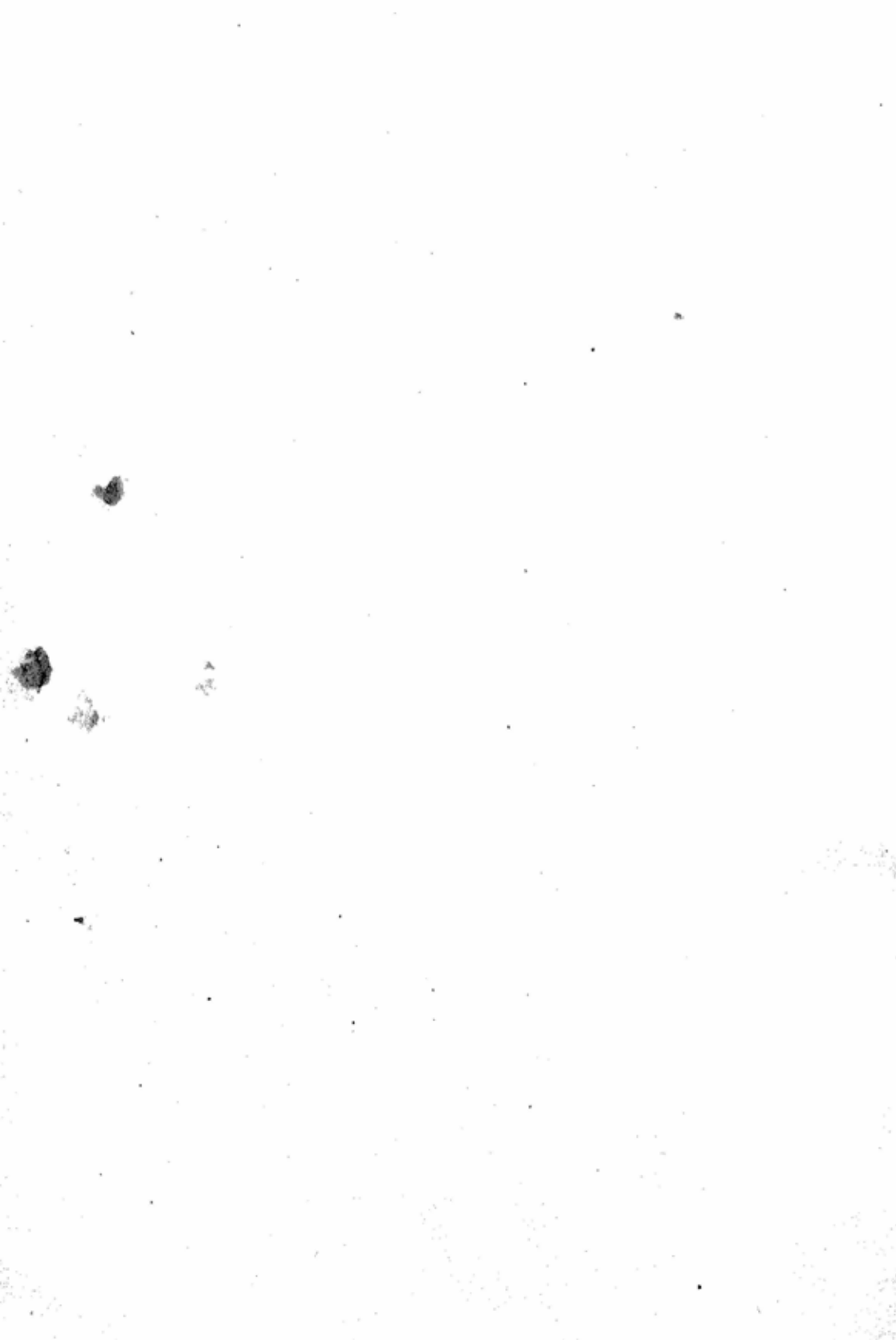
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INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BURMA AND SIAM.

As recorded in Hmannan Yazawindawgyi.

The following is a continuation of the translation by Luang Phraison Salarak (Thien Subindu) of the history of the intercourse between Siam and Burma, as given in the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi of the Burmese. The previous instalment was given in Volume XI, Part 3.



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CORRIGENDA.

Page 16, footnote 20—for ^{၁၁}၁၁၁၁၁၁ read ^{၁၁}၁၁၁၁၁၁

Page 21, footnote 1—for Kainghun, read Kyainghun.



I.

INTRODUCTION.

About two or three years after the capture of Ayudhya, the Burmese forces were kept very busy in repelling the invasion of the Chinese. The trouble with the Chinese arose about two years before the fall of the Siamese capital, out of some misunderstanding between Chinese merchants and Burmese officials in the towns on the trade route between China and Burma. According to Hmannan history the Chinese invaded Burma four times, suffering a defeat every time. Having to utilize all the available forces against the Chinese, King Sinbyushin could not possibly attend to affairs in Siam, although he must have been aware of the efforts that were being made in the newly conquered territory, to set up a new dynasty and throw off his nominal sway. Perhaps it was his intention to treat Siam as a conquered province with a viceroy or a governor in charge; at least, his order to raze the city to the ground and to bring away the King and the royal family to Ava, gave colour to the supposition that such was his intention. But owing to the pressure of the Chinese, he was unable to carry it out; because to have governed a country like Siam as a conquered province, would have required the assistance of a large military force to maintain the authority of the civil administration. Just about the time of the fall of Ayudhya, the King of Burma could neither spare any of his forces, nor think out a scheme for the civil administration of the conquered territory, which would suit the local conditions and the traditions of the country, and be acceptable to an alien people. But there can be no doubt that Burma could not possibly have held Siam as a territorial accession, for the reason that the Siamese loved their independence too dearly to submit to a foreign yoke light-heartedly, and the Burmese were too inefficient to govern a foreign country equitably and well. Although the Burmese system of administration was irreproachable in principle, it invariably became, in practice, a harille for oppression, in the hands of not over scrupulous provincial governors, who were responsible only to the central authority in the capital, which consisted of the King and his council. The control of this central authority varied in the inverse ratio to the distance of the province from the capital; and as Ayudhya was the farthest province, this control would be the least, and the viceroy or governor would be able

to do what he liked, undeterred by any fear, except perhaps by that of being recalled too soon. The events narrated in this and the subsequent papers clearly show the impossibility of holding Siam in subjection to Burma. Moreover, the siege and the eventual capture of Ayudhya may be regarded as marking the period at which Burma reached its zenith of military power and political influence; it maintained this height for about a third of a century, after which it gradually declined, and as the result of a short-sighted, arrogant, and uncompromising foreign policy, province after province was wrested away, till the remnant of the Burmese kingdom was finally absorbed in the British Indian Empire towards the close of A. D. 1885. As regards Siam, the fall of Ayudhya was a notable event indicating the period of the lowest depth of political decadence and military inefficiency into which it had gradually drifted, since the close of the glorious days of the famous King Pra Naresuan. Siam, on the other hand, did not remain low for long, but steadily rose in power, especially after the accession to the throne of the first King of the present dynasty, and by dint of prowess in arms in the earlier periods, and by the adoption of a broad-minded and far-sighted policy in diplomacy in later periods, it has been able to maintain its independence up to the present day.

THE TRANSLATION.

The Chinese invasion of Burma must have had some disturbing effect on the provinces of the "Twelve Panas," the country of the "Lu" people and the conquered territory of Zinmè. The disturbance in these provinces, especially in the former which was on the Chinese border, must also have been serious, because King Sinbyushin thought it necessary to despatch a force of twenty regiments consisting of 200 elephants, 2,000 horse, and 20,000 men under the command of Wangyi Maha Thihathura, in Thadingyut 1128 (October, A.D. 1766.) This was only a few months after the return of the Burmese forces from the Chinese frontier, where they had successfully repelled the first Chinese invasion. Nothing is mentioned about the exploits of this force in the provinces to which they were ordered to go; the next mention of it is of its having marched through the "Lu" country of the "Twelve Panas" and of its co-operating with some other Burmese forces in a fight against 50,000 Chinese, at a place called Taunggyi to the north-east of Theinni. This Chinese force was the

remnant of an army of 250,000 men and 25,000 horse, which invaded Burma the second time; it was defeated and compelled to make a hasty retreat back to Chinese territory. As this second Chinese invasion took place in Pyatho 1128 (January, A.D. 1767), that is, only three months after the expedition against the "Twelve Panas" and Zimmè had left the capital, it was very likely that that expedition was countermanded, and the expeditionary force ordered to veer round and proceed direct to where the other Burmese forces were fighting against the Chinese. It might have reached the "Lu" country, but it could not possibly have done anything there. The fact that the Hmannan history is entirely silent of what it did there, is significant and supports the supposition made above. This expeditionary force, together with the other Burmese forces with which it co-operated, returned and reached the capital on Monday the 9th of waning Kasôn 1129 (May, A. D. 1767).

In Nadaw 1129 (December, A. D. 1767), the Chinese again invaded Burma the third time, with an army said to contain 600,000 men and 60,000 horse, under two generals, entering Burma by way of Theinni,¹ which they captured and occupied. Half the army with one of the generals in command marched towards the Burmese capital via Thibaw, driving the Burmese forces before them, for the Burmese were unable to make a stand against the overwhelming numbers of the Chinese, who penetrated to within two or three marches of the capital. The Burmese, unable to fight the main army, adopted the tactics of attacking the lines of communication and the columns conveying transport of food, provisions, and munitions, of seizing the supplies on the way, and stopping further supplies from reaching the main army in front; and so successfully did they do this, that the different Chinese divisions soon found themselves cut off from their bases and from one another and without food and provisions. Simply by these tactics the Burmese compelled the Chinese army to retreat, and in the end were successful in driving their enemies back again to their territory. The disadvantage of having a huge attacking army with weak forces on the lines of communication was made apparent in this third invasion of Burma by the Chinese.

¹ ดูพระราชพงษาวดารเดิม ๓ หน้า ๕๖ แต่คำให้การชาวกรุงสมัย พิมพ์ พ. ศ. ๒๔๕๗ หน้า ๓๓.

Just over a year after the close of the third Chinese invasion, the King of Linzin whose capital was at Sandapuri presented his daughter to King Sinbyushin, in acknowledgement of the suzerainty of Burma.² Along with the princess, were sent 500 elephants and various other presents. She was accompanied by her brother, uncles, and nobles. To welcome her and her entourage, His Burman Majesty sent up the Döttawadi river, to a place called Nyaung-ni-bin-seik, several royal barges, one of which, gilded at the prow and stern, was for the use of the princess, and of the rest, some were for carrying the presents and some others for the use of the Linzin nobles. These barges were towed by a large number of smaller boats propelled by men with paddles. The party of welcome consisted of high Burmese officials and ladies of the court who were adepts in the art of the toilet, dress, and decoration. The whole party landed from the barges on the bank of the Myitgnè, not very far from the city, where spacious temporary buildings had been erected for their reception, and a halt of three days was made there. While staying at this halting place, the Burmese nobles and their wives were presented to the princess. Thence she was conveyed to the palace in a gilt palanquin, with great ceremony, entering the city wall by the Mottama gate on its eastern face, and passing through the principal streets of the city. On the 9th of waning Wagaung 1131 (August, A.D. 1769), the Linzin princess was formally presented to His Burman Majesty, together with the 500 elephants and other presents sent by her father. She was given the title of Papawadi, honoured with the rank of a queen, and accommodated in a separate residence for herself. She enjoyed much of the royal favour and was very frequently in attendance on His Majesty.

In the same year the Chinese invaded Burma, the fourth time, with an army alleged to contain 50,000 horse and 500,000 men. To repel this invasion His Majesty of Burma sent a force of 100 elephants, 1,200 horse and 12,000 men by land under the command of Amyauk Wun Nemyo Thihathura, marching along the west bank of the Eyawadi river (Irrawady); and a force of 50,000 men by water

² ดู พระราชพงษาวดาร เต็ม ๓ หน้า ๓๔ แต่คำ ให้ การ ชาวอังวะ ฉบับพิมพ์ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๘ หน้า ๑๒ ตอนปลาย.

under the command of Wungyi Maha Thihathura, who was also the commander-in-chief of the whole expedition. Two regiments under the Sawbwa of Momeik and Kyawdin Yaza were sent along the east bank of Eyawadi; their strength is not mentioned, but it could not have been more than 200 horse and 2,000 men. The several incidents of the fighting both by land and by water, as well as the siege fighting, are given in great detail in the Hmannan history, and the Burmese are credited with having defeated the Chinese in every encounter against overwhelming odds. The Chinese were at last compelled to sue for peace, and Wungyi Maha Thihathura, apparently against the wishes of his principal officers, and evidently without any authority from his Sovereign, granted the request of the Chinese generals and concluded peace, taking the whole responsibility on himself. At a conference held on Wednesday the 15th of waxing Nadaw 1131 (December, A. D. 1769), between the Burmese and Chinese generals and officers, the treaty of peace was signed,³ and five days later, the whole of the Chinese forces left Burma, being escorted to the frontier by some of the Burmese forces, who followed about a cannon shot behind the rear of the Chinese.

Information of the conclusion of peace together with presents of hats, fans, knives, and various kinds of cloths given by the Chinese, was sent to the capital by Wungyi Maha Thihathura, in the charge of Yannguthiri Nawrata. On receipt of the information His Majesty was very angry with his generals and officers, saying that they had, after accepting presents offered by the enemy, practically let the whole Chinese army consisting of 50,000 horse and 500,000 men escape into Chinese territory, when it was well within their power to capture them all and bring them to the capital as prisoners of war. He commanded that the presents brought in should not be taken into the royal treasury, and that the wives of all the generals and officers concerned should be made to carry them on the head and exposed to the view of the public at the western gate of the city. This royal command was carried out to the very letter, no exception being made even of the wife of Wungyi Maha Thihathura, who was the chief

³ ดู พระราชพงษาวดาร เต็ม ๓ หน้า ๕๖ แด ๕๗ แดคำให้การชาวอังกะ
ณบุพผน พ. ศ. ๒๔๕๘ หน้า ๓๒.

queen's own elder sister. For three days the innocent wives were thus ignominiously punished for the fault of their husbands.

In spite of what is recorded in the Hmannan history, where incredible feats of daring, prowess, and tactical ingenuity were ascribed to certain men, leaders, and attacking forces, it is very doubtful whether the Burmese army could compel the surrender of the whole of the Chinese forces and bring them as captives of war to the capital, as was so easily imagined by His Burman Majesty; especially as, according to the figures given in the history, the Chinese outnumbered the Burmese to the extent of at least six to one. Judging impartially the circumstances which led up to the conclusion of peace, namely, the numerical superiority of the Chinese and the probabilities of the results of the various encounters between the opposing forces, apart from what was recorded in the Burmese history, even though to the advantage of the Burmese, it would appear that Wungyi Maha Thihathura showed great foresight and no ordinary diplomatic skill in getting peace concluded on terms most honourable and distinctly advantageous to the Burmese.

Yannguthiri Nawrata returned to camp with the sad news of His Majesty's anger and the punishment awarded to the wives of the generals and officers. As long as this anger existed in His Majesty, it probably meant no less than death to Wungyi Maha Thihathura and his officers. Knowing this too well, they dared not return to the capital for fear of meeting the worst, and they therefore decided to march to Manipura, the Sawbwa of which had been giving some trouble, and, after subduing that recalcitrant Chief, to make their way homewards. They hoped to appease their Sovereign's anger by success in that direction. Accordingly, on the 5th of waxing Pyatho 1131 (January, A. D. 1770), they started on this new expedition, and overcoming all resistance on the way, reached the capital of Manipura; but as usual with the Chief of this troublesome little State, he escaped to the hills and forests. The Burmese did not trouble to pursue him, knowing full well that it would be futile to do so. They returned homewards bringing away with them a large quantity of booty and a great many prisoners, including some of the Chief's family, and arrived at the Burmese capital on the 12th of waning Tabaung (March) of the same year. They were mistaken in their belief that they would easily obtain pardon from their Sovereign. His Majesty was not at all

disposed to pardon them and he ordered that all the generals and officers should be deported out of his kingdom. Nominal effect had to be given to His Majesty's command by making Wungyi Maha Thihathura and his officers stay in a field on the east bank of the Myitngè river, thus separating them from the land on which the capital stood. Maha Yazathingyan and Thiri Ôktama Zeyathingyan, two of the ministers, tried to intercede on behalf of the unfortunate officers, by saying that Wungyi Maha Thihathura and his officers had been consistently brave, courageous, and self-sacrificing in every encounter with His Majesty's enemies; nothing could be said in disparagement of their courage and self-sacrifice in the expedition against the Chinese, but having to attend to many engagements at different places, they had, for once, shown a lamentable want of judgment, for which they deserved a lenient treatment. His Majesty was not only obdurate, but ordered that the two well-meaning nobles should be deported also and made to join their comrades for whom they had been bold enough to intercede. It was not until a month after, that all were pardoned and allowed to return to their homes.

In Tabodwè 1133 (February, A.D. 1772), there arrived in Ava the daughter of the Chief of Sanpa Pathet together with two hundred elephants and various other presents, in the charge of the Chief's relatives and nobles, having been sent by the Chief as a token of his submission to King Sinbyushin. A temporary rest house was built near the Myitngè river where the guests were made to halt. Then on the 5th of waxing Tabodwè, the princess, together with the two hundred elephants and other presents, was conveyed to the capital with the same ceremonial pomp as in the case of the welcome of the Linzin princess from Sandapuri, and presented to His Burman Majesty.

About a month after the arrival of the princess from Sanpa Pathet, the King of Sandapuri sent a report⁴ to King Sinbyushin, that not long after the capture and destruction of Yodaya, Paya Tet-thin, Governor of Mè Tet, collected an armed force, and having built a city and palace at Ban-gauk, about two days' journey from the

⁴ ดู พระราชพงษาวดารเดิม ๓ หน้า ๕๖ แต่ คำ ให้ ท้าว ขวัญฉิมบิ
พนพ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๘ หน้า ๓๓.

city of Yodaya and not far from the sea, established himself as King ; and also that the other towns in northern Siam not only showed signs of disquiet, but were openly aggressive towards Sandapuri. King Sinbyushin took immediate action and dispatched a force of twenty-two regiments under the command of Myinzugyi Wun or Myin Wun Nemyo Thihapate consisting of 500 horse and 7,000 men, of whom half were Kathès and half Burmese, with orders to requisition the co-operation of all the governors and Sawbwas on the east bank of the Thanlwin river, of the whole armed force of the fifty-seven provinces which comprise the Kingdom of Zinmè, and of the auxiliaries from Sandapuri. The combined army was then to march on to Yodaya. This small force of Burmese and Kathès left the capital on Sunday the 15th of waxing Tabaung 1134 (March, A.D. 1773).

The Governor of Môtama, Min-yè Min-hla-uzana, having died, the Governor of Pagan,⁵ Mingyi Kamani Sanda, was transferred to the charge of Môtama, Myeik, and Dawè, and ordered to march to Yodaya via Tayaik, there to co-operate with Nemyo Thihapate in the operations against the newly established King.

Nemyo Thihapate and his small army made the necessary arrangements with the governors and Sawbwas on the east bank of the Thanlwin river and in Zinmè territory, and marched on to Sandapuri to dispel, by a display of armed force, any signs of disaffection and disloyalty. In this they were evidently successful, as peace and quiet seemed to prevail everywhere on the approach of the Burmese.

Although the presence of a small Burmese army seemed to have suppressed feelings of disaffection and disloyalty, the administration was not at all running smoothly. A difference arose between Thado Mindin, the Burmese Governor or Commissioner of Zinmè, and the principal local officials, of whom Paya Sapan ⁶ was the chief, regarding their respective powers and privileges. Paya Sapan, Paya

⁵ ในพระราชพงษาวดารเดิม ๓ หน้า ๖๗ บรรทัด ๓๓ ได้ว่าปักษ์หุ่นเจ้าเมืองเมะตะมะ คำว่า "ปักษ์หุ่น" แปลว่าเจ้าเมืองญาคาม.

⁶ พระยาจำปาศักดิ์ ดูพระราชพงษาวดารเดิม ๓ หน้า ๖๘.

Thanlan, and Paya Thirlón of Zimmè together with Kawila,⁷ the native Governor of Lagun, went over to the Burmese capital to represent the matter to His Burman Majesty. They obtained His Majesty's orders that they were to enjoy all the powers and privileges they had formerly enjoyed according to local custom, and that Thado Mindin should exercise his authority only in the same way as other Burmese provincial governors used to exercise authority in accordance with ancient custom. Apparently this vague order without any attempt at defining precisely what were the powers and privileges of each contending party, did not remove the existing differences and friction, nor did it prevent fresh ones from arising. On their return to Zimmè, Paya Sapan sent his young brother Nè-maung to present His Burman Majesty's written order at the court of the Burmese Governor. Thado Mindin held that, being a royal command from His Majesty, it should not have been presented by a deputy, and sent messengers to call upon Paya Sapan to present it in person. This request the Zimmè nobleman refused to comply with. Thado Mindin was apparently determined to enforce compliance, and accordingly sent an armed band to compel Paya Sapan to attend his court in person. The Lao nobleman was equally determined in his refusal, and in the altercation and fighting that ensued Nè-maung was killed; the Burmese Governor's men also suffered in killed and wounded and were obliged to withdraw. Paya Sapan sent his family to some concealed place of safety, himself went to Sandapuri, and having explained fully to Nemyo Thihapate what had happened, remained with the Burmese Army.

Not long after the arrival of Paya Sapan in his camp, Nemyo Thihapate returned to Zimmè and made preparations for the march to Yodaya. He ordered Paya Sapan and Kawila to accompany him with their following and to march in the van. Thereupon, Thado Mindin requested the Burmese general to deliver up Paya Sapan and Kawila, alleging that they were disaffected and would not serve the Burmese loyally and that they would in time be a source of danger to the peace and security of the Burmese sway over those parts of the territory in which they had great influence. Knowing the quarrel between the Burmese Governor and the local nobles, Nemyo Thihapate refused

to give them up, giving the excuse that it was necessary to retain their services in the army as they were the only persons able to control the contingents supplied by them. He ordered them to join the vanguard of the Burmese army and march on ahead. News of the breach between the Burmese Governor and the local officials had already reached the Burmese capital, and about this time orders from His Burman Majesty arrived calling Paya Sapan and Kawila to the capital. Thado Mindin accordingly sent messengers to the Burmese general demanding the delivery of Paya Sapan and Kawila, this time backed up by no less an authority than a command from their Sovereign. Again the general refused to deliver them up, giving the following reasons:—that according to the generally accepted rules and beliefs in the movements of troops at the commencement of an expedition, when once the vanguard had pitched its camp, it is unpropitious to withdraw it, even if the camping ground were subsequently found to be unsuitable; any movement made must be a move forward and not backward; that Paya Sapan and Kawila having already marched in the van on a most propitious day, they should not be re-called; that they had not committed any criminal offence and their presence at the Burmese capital was ordered by His Burman Majesty solely on account of the ill feeling existing between them and the Burmese Governor, and because of His Majesty's anxiety to prevent them coming into open conflict; that the governors of the fifty-seven provinces of Zimmè territory looked upon Paya Sapan as their leader, and were guided by his action whether to be loyal or disloyal; that it was to the interests of the Burmese and for the success of the expedition to win them over by kind treatment and secure their good will and co-operation. The Governor of Zimmè held a different opinion, that Kawila and Paya Sapan would never be truly loyal and serve the Burmese honestly and whole-heartedly, and that they were certain to raise their hands against the Burmese. He sent an armed force to call the two nobles in the van of the Burmese army. The result was a fight between the adherents of the nobles and the Governor's men, in which the latter were worsted and forced to return, losing many killed. Thado Mindin thereupon seized the wives and children of the two nobles and sent them under a guard to the Burmese capital, with the messengers who brought His Burman Majesty's order. Paya Sapan and Kawila received information of the action taken by the Governor; they then promptly marched back day and night, rescued

their wives and children, and went off to Yodaya.⁸ There they told Paya Tet-thin, the King, that the Burmese Governor and the Burmese general were not on good terms, that the governors of the fifty-seven provinces were in a ferment, and that the time was most opportune to go and capture Zinmè, and requested him to avail himself of the opportunity. Paya Tet-thin saw his chance, and marching quickly with a force of about 40,000 or 50,000 men, defeated Nemyo Thihapate who was driven back through Maing-hin⁹ to Monè.¹⁰ Paya Tet-thin then turned his attention to Zinmè town which soon fell to him, the Burmese Governor being compelled to retire to Kyaingthin.¹¹ The King of Yodaya then placed Kawila in charge of Lagun, Kawila's nephew Kun Kyaw in charge of Pa-thin, and Paya Sapan in charge of Maing-lin.¹² He then returned to Yodaya, leaving a force of 3,000 men under the command of Paya Takan to garrison Zinmè, with orders not to leave the town until there was no sign of the Burmese army coming by that way. Thus the short-sighted policy of the Burmese Governor, his want of tact and adaptability, and his uncompromising conduct brought ruin to the Burmese designs for the overthrow of the power of Yodaya, which had again risen after its recent downfall.

The newly appointed Governor of Mòttama, Mingyi Kamani Sanda, arrived at his headquarters in due course. He sent a message to Mingyi Zeyathu, who was Governor of Dawè, that he brought orders from His Majesty to mobilize the forces in Mòttama, Byeik,¹³ and Dawè and to co-operate with Nemyo Thihapate, who had already left the capital to come down to Yodaya with the forces collected from the towns on the east bank of the Thanlwin and those levied in Zinmè territory. He requested Mingyi Zeyathu to march by way of Peik-thalauk with all the forces available in Byeik and Dawè, while he himself would march via Tayaik with the forces raised in Mòttama. Having called up all the able-bodied men capable of bearing arms, and

⁸ ดูพระราชพงษาวดารเล่ม ๓ หน้า ๖๘ และ ๗๐ และคำให้การชาวอังวะ ฉบับพิมพ์ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๘ หน้า ๓๓ และ ๓๔

⁹ เมืองหาง ¹⁰ เมืองหน่วย ¹¹ เขียงแสน ¹² เมืองดอง ?

¹³ The same as Myeik เมืองมะริด

commandeering the best elephants and horses, he sent Binnya Sein¹⁴ in advance with a force of 2,000 men, probably composed of all Talaings (Mons) on the route to Tayaik. When this advance force reached a place called Zami, three days' march from Môtama, the military officers of Mingyi Kamani Sanda seized the families of the men who formed this force and tried to extort money by threats of violence. The families sent information of their plight to their parents, husbands, and kinsmen in the army. On receipt of the information Binnya Sein and the Talaing soldiers were very angry and bitterly complained that they undertook to serve in the van of the expedition with the hope of procuring peace and security for their wives, children, and kinsmen. Saying that they had no enemies in front and that their enemies were really in the rear, Binnya Sein and his Talaing officers and men, with one accord, marched back day and night and fell upon the Burmese Governor and his officers, who had to run for their lives and seek refuge in the town of Yangôn. Binnya Sein and his infuriated Talaings, reinforced by another thousand men, followed their Burman oppressors to Yangôn and attacked the town. The defence of the town was on the point of giving way, when some of the Burmese officers in the towns in the delta of the Eyawadi river, conspicuous among whom were Myan-aung Bo, Pyanchi-Yègaung-Kyaw, and Talizi Bo, organized a force from the reverine towns and came to the rescue. The Talaings quickly withdrew, and, headed by Binnya Sein and Yazadewa, such of them as were able and ready to emigrate went away to Yodaya. This exodus of Talaings from Môtama is one of the principal immigrations of Talaings into Siam and is mentioned in the Siamese history¹⁵.

When King Sinbyushin knew of what had happened to his forces in Zimmè and Môtama, he got a force of 61¹⁶ regiments, consisting of 2,500 horse and 35,000 men and, putting Wungyi Maha

¹⁴ พระยาเจ่ง ดุพระราชพงษาดาร เดิม ๓ หน้า ๖๗ แด ๖๘ แด คำให้การ ชาวกรุงศรีอยุธยา พ. ศ. ๒๔๕๘ หน้า ๓๔

¹⁵ ดุพระราช พงษาดารเดิม ๓ หน้า ๖๗

¹⁶ In the original, 63 regiments were enumerated, although the total is given as 61 only.

Thibathura in command of it, despatched it to Yodaya by way of Mottama and Tayaik, on the 5th of waxing Tazaungmôn 1136 (November, A.D. 1774).

The famous pagoda in the town of Yangôn had fallen into disrepair ; it had been highly venerated by generations after generations of Burmese, who fervently believed that eight hairs of Gotama Buddha were enshrined in it. King Sinbyushin had the repairs made, and having beaten into leaves forty-seven viss and thirty-five ticals weight of gold, a weight equal to that of his body, he had the pagoda gilded from top to bottom. He also made a new seven-tiered "ti" or umbrella, and a new spire with a vane attached, to be placed on the pagoda. The vane was said to be made of gold weighing two hundred and seventy viss of gold, and studded with fifteen thousand and thirty-eight precious gems of various kinds. To place this almost invaluable spire and "ti" on the shrine, he went down the river, accompanied by his queens and concubines, sisters and children, in superbly gilt barges towed by gilt paddling canoes. His Majesty and the whole entourage were guarded by armed men in boats decorated with figures of various kinds of animals, disposed of in the front and rear, on the right and left. The "ti" was put by itself on a barge which was decorated with the figure of a Garuda bird ; this barge towed by six canoes, led the whole procession which must have presented a scene most magnificent and gorgeous. In addition to this spectacular effect of gold and colour, the whole river resounded with various kinds of music played during such state processions. A land force consisting of twelve regiments under the command of Min-yè Zeyakyaw also accompanied the King, but the strength of the force is not stated in the history. From the usual formation of Burmese regiments this force probably contained 1,200 horse and 12,000 men. His Majesty left the capital on Sunday the 8th of waxing Pyatho 1136 (January, A.D. 1775) and, after calling at Pagan and Pyi (Prome) to worship the famous pagodas in those places, arrived at Yangôn on the 1st of waxing Tabaung (March) following. On the 15th of waxing Tabaung, the religious ceremony was performed of dedicating the "ti," which was afterwards put on the pagoda by mechanical contrivances. He left Yangôn on the 5th of waxing Kasôn 1137 (May, A. D. 1775) and returned by water, arriving at the capital on the 5th of waxing Wagaung (August).

Before his return from Yangôn, King Sinbyushin executed the

deposed King of Pegu (Hanthawadi), together with the unfortunate King's younger brother, Upayaza, and son Nga Ta. The only reason for the execution given in the history was that the deposed King had uttered words improper or unbecoming, which probably means that he had offended His Burman Majesty by an ungarded speech.¹⁷

The land force of twelve regiments under Minyè Zeyakyaw which accompanied the King to Yangôn was ordered to join the army

17 The most likely reason for this execution is given in the "Statement or deposition of a native of Ava" at page 15 of the edition printed in Buddha Era 2458 (คำให้การชาวอองวะฉบับพิมพ์ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๘ หน้า ๑๕) as follows:—

“ครั้นหม่อมมอญกับเสนาบดีลงมาตั้งค่ายกันตรงอยู่ ณ เมืองย่างกุ้ง มอญระ
จึ่งให้ถามตะละเก้งว่า ตัวคิดการประทุษร้ายทางนี้ ใครรู้ เห็นเป็นใจด้วย
ตัวบ้าง ตะละเก้งว่าพระยาหงสาวดี พระยาอุปราชาผู้น้อง มีหนังสือให้
คนถือมาถึงข้าพเจ้ากับพระยาเจ้ให้ชักชวนกัน แต่บรรดาสมิงรามัญทั้ง
ปวง จับเอาบรรดาพม่านายไพร่ซึ่งอยู่ในเมืองเมะตะมะฆ่าเสีย แล้วให้
ยกกองทัพตเอาเมืองย่างกุ้งขึ้นไปจนถึงเมืองอองวะ ถามสอบพระยา
หงสาวดี พระยาอุปราชา รับเป็นสัตย์ มอญระจึ่งสั่งให้เอาพระยาหงสาวดี
พระยาอุปราชา พระยาตะละเก้ง ไปประหารชีวิตเสีย”

Translation of the above: "At that time Mong Ra accompanied by his ministers came down to put up an umbrella and was at the town of Rangoon. Mong Ra had Tala Kaeng questioned as to who were his accomplices in raising this revolt. Tala Kaeng said, 'Phya Hongsawadi (the King of Hanthawadi) and his brother Phya Uparaja sent a letter by a messenger to me and Phya Chaeng to induce all Smings and Ramans to capture and kill all the Burmese officers and men who were in Mawtama (Martaban) and then to raise a (Talaing) army, capture the town of Rangoon, and march to Ava.' On questioning Phya Hongsawadi and Phya Uparaja, they admitted that it was true. Mong Ra therefore ordered the execution of Phya Hongsawadi, Phya Uparaja, and Phya Tala Kaeng."

In the History of Siam (พระราชพงษาวดารฉบับพระราชหัตถเลขาเดิม หน้า ๗๘) it is stated that the deposed King of Hanthawadi was at Ava and that orders were sent up for his execution. This is evidently wrong as the Hmannan history distinctly says that the execution was carried out in Rangoon.

under Wungyi Maha Thihathura, in the operations against Yodaya. This force came up with the Burmese invading army at a place called Kyauk-taga,¹⁸ not far from Tayaik. The Siamese must have been fully aware of the invasion, as they were not far from Tayaik. They were informed by the Karens and Laos inhabiting that part of the country, of the approach of the Burmese. The Siamese commander-in-chief, whose name is not given in the Burmese history, but who evidently knew the topography well and possessed the necessary knowledge of strategy, concealed the greater part of his forces at a place called Sakadan, disposing them on both sides of the road which, at that point, presented difficulties to a force on the march. He then sent Bra Thiri (Phra Siri) with about a thousand men to Tayaik to lure the Burmese into the ambush.

When Wungyi Maha Thihathura became aware of the presence of the Siamese at Tayaik, he proposed to send the Bo of Satpyagôn¹⁹ to attack the enemy and rout them, with a force of 3,000 men drawn as follows:—1,000 men from the forces under Min-yè Zeyakyaw, 1,000 men from Min-yè Yannaung's command and 1,000 men from the Wungyi's own command. Min-yè Zeyakyaw disapproved of the proposal, saying that it was very likely that the Siamese would strongly contest the difficult passage with a large force as they were aware of the numerical strength of the Burmese, and thus nip the invasion in the bud; and that it would be most inadvisable to send the Bo of Satpyagôn with only a small force to attack the enemy. He offered to attack the Siamese with the whole of the forces in his command. Wungyi Maha Thihathura overruled Min-yè Zeyakyaw's objection, giving as the reason for his doing so, that as Tayaik was only a narrow passage and as it was very hard to get provisions there, they would first reconnoitre with only a small force. Min-yè Zeyakyaw said he offered his suggestion as he was afraid of a reverse to the Burmese arms at the commencement of an encounter with the enemy; and if the general commanding the expedition would not take counsel he could not help it; but as regards the order to supply a thousand

¹⁸ แปลตรงว่า ประตู ศิลา

¹⁹ ฉบับกรุงโบ ดูพระราชพงษาวดารเล่ม ๒ หน้า ๒๗๕ ในคำให้การชาว
อังกะเรณบับพิมพ์ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๘ หน้า ๓๓ ขอนเขียนเป็น ฉบับกรุงโบ

men from his command he said he was afraid that the men would feel sorry to be placed under another officer, and therefore if the general still thought fit to take his men, he himself ought to be put in command of them. On this Wungyi Maha Thihathura detached 1,500 men from his own command and another 1,500 men from Min-yè Yannaung's and placing the 3,000 men under the Bo of Satpyagôn, despatched them to Tayaik. Apparently the Bo of Satpyagôn was chosen on account of his previous experience of Siamese tactics, as he had distinguished himself in many an encounter with the Siamese forces. At the same time the general submitted a report to the King at Ava to the effect that, on the receipt of information that the Siamese were massed at Tayaik to dispute the advance of the Burmese, he ordered Min-yè Zeyakyaw to march to Tayaik, but the latter refused to obey orders. Min-yè Zeyakyaw became aware of the report submitted by the Wungyi, and, having already heard rumours of the illness of the King, withdrew his troops and returned to Môtama, saying he preferred death in the capital to service under a Wungyi who was trying to get him into trouble.

The Bo of Satpyagôn and the 3,000 men under him came in contact with the Siamese at Tayaik, who, according to pre-concerted plan, gradually fell back, drawing the Burmese behind them. The Bo of Satpyagôn, who was present at the capture of Ayudhya and whose experience it had been to rout the Siamese at every encounter, was over-confident of success and under-estimated the strength of the enemy and the generalship of their leader. Failing to take the necessary precautions, he pressed hard on the gradually retreating Siamese till he got to Sakadan,²⁰ when he and his 3,000 men were completely hemmed in by two forces concealed thereabouts, at a place devoid of water. Wungyi Maha Thihathura became aware of the plight of the Bo, the result of his own want of foresight and the Bo's rashness born of over-confidence. He sent Min-yè Yannaung with only 4,000 men to rescue the entrapped troops, but this handful of men was of no avail against a force of 20,000 Siamese. The Bo and his men dug hard

²⁰ According to คำให้การชาวอังวะ this "Sakadan" is เขานาแก้ว in Rajburi district. Vide pages 15 and 16 of คำให้การชาวอังวะ See also พระราชพงษาวดารฉบับพระราชหัตถเลขาเล่ม ๓ หน้า ๘๓ et seq.

for water, but as they were located on a parched, barren ridge of a strip of high ground, their energy was wasted, and water could not be obtained. Thirst rendered them quite weak and helpless and they fell into the hands of the Siamese.

After this disaster to the Burmese troops, Wungyi Maha Thiha-thura, whom the Hmannan history began to call Athi Wungyi,²¹ submitted a report to his sovereign to the effect that Min-yè Zeyakyaw refused to obey orders and returned with his troops to Mòttama, saying that His Majesty had died and that the Prince of Amyin had ascended the throne; he also mentioned the total loss of Satpyagôn Bo and 3,000 men in an encounter with the enemy at Sakadan. On receipt of the report, King Sinbyushin ordered that Min-yè Zeyakyaw and all the officers serving with him should return to the capital, and a fast despatch boat was sent down to convey His Majesty's orders to the commander, who had been guilty of a serious military offence. He was still at Mòttama when he received the orders and he and his officers returned marching overland. When they arrived at Sittaung, Min-yè Zeyakyaw, with his three principal officers, Nyaungchedauk Bo, Shangyi Bo, and Tabèza Kala Bo went on ahead with a following of 3,000 men, leaving the rest of the troops to follow up leisurely. When they reached Mingan village, fresh orders from His Majesty arrived with Kaledaw Wun and Yè-hle-taik Wun that Min-yè Zeyakyaw and all the officers under him should be placed under arrest and taken to the capital under guard. Accordingly, Min-yè Zeyakyaw and seventy others were taken to Ava under arrest. On their arrival, King Sinbyushin had Min-yè Zeyakyaw brought into his presence, and asked him whether it was true that he returned from the expedition against Yodaya, because he heard that a new King had ascended the throne. Min-yè Zeyakyaw replied that owing to the ill-treatment of Athi Wungyi, he returned to His Majesty to seek redress. His Majesty in reply said that if Athi Wungyi reported about him he should have submitted a counter report, and should not have withdrawn his troops at all. He ordered the imprisonment of over seventy officers of

²¹ The ^๕พระยาหงัน of the Siamese history. In fact Wungyi Maha Thibathura is better known by the name of ^๕พระยาหงัน throughout พระราชพงษาวดาร and คำให้การชาวอองวะ

Min-yè Zeyakyaw's troops, while the principal offender himself was degraded and deprived of his title and called by his personal name Nga Hmôn, like any other ordinary individual. About twenty days afterwards, Shangyi Bo, Nyaungchedank Bo, and Tabèza Kala Bo and ten others were executed, and Min-yè Zeyakyaw and the rest of the officers were ordered to be conveyed under arrest to Athi Wungyi, for him to punish them in whatever manner he liked to. The Wungyi, however, most magnanimously pardoned them all, only requesting them to fight and defeat the Siamese forces at Sakadan. They undertook to attack the enemy on the night of the very day they were set at liberty; and just before dawn of that night Min-yè Zeyakyaw with 3,000 men stealthily got into the camp of the Siamese, and tried to create a panic, by vociferous shouting, by attacking furiously and setting fire to the tents, sheds, etc. within their reach. They were successful in their attempt, as the Siamese thought, "in the darkness of the night, that a large Burmese force had made a surprise attack, and entered their camp as well as surrounded it. There was a panic among the Siamese, who were probably suddenly awakened from their slumber, and they made a hasty retreat from Sakadan. Min-yè Zeyakyaw then returned to the main Burmese army, taking with him all the arms and war material left behind by the Siamese. The Athi Wungyi said that, although the enemy had retreated from Sakadan, it would not be advisable to march to Yodaya by that route, as it would be very difficult to get provisions; that already the army was suffering from want of sufficient provisions and the sick-roll was unusually large. He proposed to withdraw the army to Môtama to recuperate during the rains, and as soon as the rains ceased, to march to Yodaya via Yahaing (Raheng), by which route he expected to get provisions more easily. The proposal was approved of by all, and the whole of the Burmese army withdrew to Môtama.

After King Sinbyushin's return from his trip to Yangôn to put the "ti" on the famous Sandaw or Dagôn pagoda, no event of any importance occurred at the Burmese capital, his energies being for the time directed towards the building of pagodas and monasteries. Only three months after he had performed, with sumptuous feasts and great rejoicing, and numerous gifts to Buddhist monks, the dedication ceremony of a pagoda and a monastery which he had built at Sagaing, a town on the right bank of the Eyawadi opposite Ava, he was

taken ill, while residing in a palace surrounded by water, built outside the northern gate of the city. On the night of Sunday the 9th of waning Nayôn 1188 (June, A.D. 1776), his condition became serious and he was removed in a closed golden palanquin to the palace in the city where he expired at dawn. The ministers in attendance informed his son Min-yè Hla, Prince of Sin-gu, who ascended the throne and assumed sovereign authority at sunrise on Monday the 10th of waning Nayôn.

King Sinbyushin, who assumed the regal title of Thiri Pawara Thudama Mahayaza Zaneindadipati (Sīripavara sudhamma mahārājā janindādhipati), was born on Sunday the 13th of waxing Wagaung 1098 (August, A.D. 1736). At the age of twenty-seven years and four months he ascended the throne, and after reigning twelve years and six months, died at the age of thirty-nine years and ten months.

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF
THE CHINESE INVASION OF BURMA AND THE
BURMESE INVASION OF SIAM.

Origin of war
with China.

A series of petty misunderstandings on the frontier of China had led to an invasion of Burma from that country. In the spring of 1765 a Chinese merchant named Loali arrived on the frontier, coming by the Momien route, with a large drove of oxen laden with merchandise. In order to cross the river Tapeng, he wished to construct a bridge at the village Nánbá, and applied to the governor of Bamoa for permission to do so. The merchant, annoyed at the delay which occurred in attending to his application, uttered some words in his own language which were interpreted to the governor as being disrespectful. The governor sent him to Ava as a prisoner. The authorities there released him, and gave orders that he might build the bridge and pursue his vocation. On returning to Bamoa, where his merchandise had been left, he complained that some of the packages had been opened and a portion of the goods abstracted, and he demanded compensation. The officials replied that his own men had remained in charge of the bales, and they refused to inquire into the complaint. Loali then departed, and, on arrival at Momien, complained of the treatment he had received. He went on to the city of Yunnán, where the governor received his statement and noted the facts. Soon after another dispute took place at a distant point of the frontier. A Chinese merchant named Loatârî arrived, with several followers, at a mart in the territory of the Shân state of Kyaingtun, and there sold goods on credit.¹ Payment was refused by the purchaser, a quarrel arose, and in the affray which ensued a Chinaman was killed. At that time the Soabwâ of Kyaingtun was in Ava. The Sitkê, who was the next in authority, received the

¹ Captain W. C. M'Leod heard the same story when at Kyaingtun in 1837. See his Journal, p. 60.

complaint of the merchant, who demanded that either the manslayer or a substitute, to be made responsible for the crime, should be delivered up to him. The Sitkê replied that he would give the amount of fine payable according to Burmese law in such cases. The Chinese merchant refused this offer, and left for his own country. He proceeded to the city of Yunnan and complained to the governor. Some Shân nobles and a nephew of the Soabwâ of Kyaingtun, who had offended the Burmese government, were at this time refugees in that city. They excited the Chinese officials to demand satisfaction with a threat of making war should it not be given. The general of the frontier petitioned the Emperor, who ordered that Kyaingtun was to be attacked and justice enforced. A document was posted at a ford on the Tâloa river,¹ making a formal demand that the homicide or a substitute should be surrendered. No reply having been sent to this summons, a Chinese army advanced and surrounded the town of Kyaingtun. The Soabwâ of Kyaingtun had joined the invaders. An army had marched from Ava in December 1765 to support the Sitkê of Kyaingtun. It was under the command of Letwêwengmhu. He approached the town and forced the Chinese investing army to retreat. It retired towards the Mêkong river, and in a combat there the Chinese general was killed. The chief of Kyaingtun now made his submission, saying that he had been coerced by the Chinese. A garrison was placed in Kyaingtun and the bulk of the Burmese army returned to Ava.

Chinese army
appears at
Kyaingtun.

April, A. D.
1766.

The king of Burma, viewing with alarm the state of his relations with China, determined to place a garrison at Kaungton, a town on the Irâwadi, a few miles

1: This is the name given to the river in the Burmese history. It is however the name of a town on the Meleni or Melâm river, fifty-four miles north of Kyaingtun on the road from that town to Kainghun. Kyaintun is still a large thoroughfare for Chinese traders going to the Shân states west of the Salwin. M'Leod's Journal, pp. 59 and 65.

Chinese invasion
by the Momien
route.

below Bamoa. This precautionary measure had not long been adopted when it was reported that a large Chinese army had appeared on the frontier near Momien. It marched into the Burmese territory and took up a position at the Mwêlun mountain, which lies to the south of the Talo branch of the Tapeng river. The army of invasion was under two leading generals, Ying Khùn Târeng and Hseng TÂ Loareng. The Burmese garrison at Kaungtung was reinforced and the stockade strengthened. The commander there was Balamenhteng, a bold and active officer. The plan of the Chinese generals appears to have been to occupy Bamoa; to advance from thence on Ava; and to collect boats in order to gain command of the river Irâwadi. At the same time they appear to have been in communication with the Soabwâ of Mogaung, who was disaffected towards the Burmese king, and from whom they might receive important assistance. The Burmese Government, though knowing the general objects of the invaders, had not been sufficiently on the alert, and with the Siamese war on their hands, to support which constant reinforcements were required, must have felt a difficulty in raising men. But though attacked by so powerful an enemy, they met the invader with a determined spirit which deserves high praise.

The Chinese generals, in pursuance of their plan, detached from their position at the Mwêlun mountain a column under Rengsutâreng by the Mowun (Muangwan) route to Bamoa. A division was also posted at the intermediate position of Thinzanwêlim to keep up the communication with the headquarter army. At Bamoa the commander built a stockade on the bank of the river, and leaving there a part of his force in garrison, pushed on to Kaungtung. Balamenhteng had, with unwearied diligence, strengthened his post; and being well supplied with fire-arms, awaited the onset of the enemy with confidence. The Chinese commander made desperate efforts to capture the post, but

failed, suffering a heavy loss of men, and finally drew off. But success here was of too much importance for the enterprise to be abandoned, and he entrenched himself in a camp near the fort waiting for reinforcements.

The king of Burma had dispatched a force by water up the Iráwadi under Letwéngmhu to proceed to Bamao, while a column under Wungyi Mahá Sithu marched by the western bank of the river on Mogaung. These bodies started from the capital about the middle of January. Letwéngmhu on the way up, hearing that Kaungtun was invested, threw some reinforcements and a supply of ammunition into the place from the river force. He then sent a division to Bamao, which attacked and carried the Chinese entrenched position there. With the bulk of his command he remained in observation on the west bank of the Iráwadi, while by his superior flotilla he held command of the river. He next attacked the Chinese entrenched post near Kaungtun and forced the garrison to retire on the fortified position at Thinzanwélim. He followed them up and dislodged them from that position, inflicting upon them a heavy loss in men, arms, and horses. They retreated to Mowun. The Chinese invaders had now been driven from the posts they had occupied on and near to the Iráwadi, south of Bamao, and had lost the boats they had collected for operations on the river.

Burmese measures
of resistance.

A. D. 1767.

The corps under the command of Mahá Sithu, by a rapid march reached Mogaung before the Chinese could arrive. He made such arrangements for the defence of the town as time allowed. He then advanced to meet the invading force, which, under Hsengtácareng, was marching by Sanda in a north-westerly direction to a point on the Iráwadi in order to cross that river. The Chinese commander had no boats and took post at Lisoa hill, arranging means to pass to the right bank. Mahá Sithu did not allow

Operations at
Mogaung and in
the north.

him time for this, but marching from Mogaung, crossed the Iráwadi to the left bank, and sent on a reconnoitring party of five hundred musketeers. This party fell in with a body of a thousand Chinese horsemen. The musketeers retired to a mountain defile. The Chinese cavalry followed headlong, and, cooped up in a narrow pass blocked with boulders, sustained a heavy loss from the fire of the musketeers. The Burmese commander, finding the Chinese position on the Lisoa hill too strong to be attacked in front, halted on the Nánmyin stream, and sent two divisions to circle round it right and left. This movement was concealed by the thick woods, and the Chinese general, leaving one-third of his force on the hill, marched to attack the Burmese on the Nánmyin. The force left on the hill, supposing the enemy to be only in front, and to be held in check by their main body, was careless, and allowed itself to be surprised and cut up by the two Burmese divisions. The main body of the Chinese under Hsengtáloareng retired hastily to Sanda. Mahá Sithu then took post with his whole army at Muangla, which would enable him to intercept the retreat of the Chinese to their own country. He had conducted the operations successfully, but being ill, was now succeeded in the command by Letwêwengmhu. The Chinese army was suffering from want of provisions. The main body, which had originally been posted at the Mwêlun mountain, had been reduced, by continued requisitions to supply reinforcements, to a small number; and this, with the remnant of the division under Hsengtáloareng, retreated to the Chinese territory.

Chinese main
army retires from
Burma.

Burmese generals
return to Ava.

At a late period of the campaign a Chinese column had appeared on the Thinni frontier, and menaced the capital by that route. This column was attacked on two sides: by a force under Mahá Thihathura, marching from Kyainghun, where he had held command during the Siamese war; and by the troops

of Letwêwengmhu moving down from the north. The invading column was driven back, and the two victorious generals arrived in Ava with the captured guns, muskets, and prisoners, early in May. The eight Shân states in the basin of the Tapeng river, which had for centuries, though not continuously, been included in the Chinese empire, were now reunited to Burma.

A. D. 1767.

The Chinese generals had grossly mismanaged the campaign. They divided their forces into detached bodies which could not support each other, and thus exposed them to be separately attacked and overpowered. The late appearance of an isolated column at Thinní was not likely to retrieve failure elsewhere, and the movement itself was feebly made. The Burmese commanders, with inferior numbers in the field, skilfully took advantage of the blunders of their opponents. They are entitled to great praise for their energetic defence of their country against an invader who not only had a numerical superiority in the field, but enjoyed the repute of former conquest and long acknowledged ascendancy. But the Burmese history, which states the original number of the enemy to have been 250,000 men and 25,000 horse, greatly exaggerates the strength of the invaders.

The emperor of China, Kienlung, a competent civil administrator, but no warrior, was determined not to allow what he considered a petty barbarian power, successfully to resist the armies of the son of heaven. To the dismay of the Burmese king, towards the end of the year a Chinese army, more numerous than that which had invaded the country in the previous year, crossed the frontier and advanced to Thinní. It was under the command of two generals, the emperor's son-in-law, Myinkhunrè, and the emperor's younger brother, Sutáloarè. This was the main army of invasion, and smaller columns, intended

Third invasion
by the Chinese,
A. D. 1767.

apparently to divert attention, were marching, one on Bamoa by the route south of the Tapeng river, by way of Thinzanwêlin, and a second on Momeit, by the route south of the Shwèlè river.

The main army entered Thinnî without opposition. The Soabwâ at once submitted, and furnished whatever the enemy required from him. The Chinese generals commenced the construction of a stockade to the south-west of the town, as a depôt for stores and station for reserves.

Burmese armies
meet the invaders,
A. D. 1767.

An army under Mahâ Sithu left Ava about the middle of December to oppose the main body of the invaders. It marched by Thonzè and Thiboa, the object being to operate on the front of the Chinese. A second army under Mahâ Thihathura marched two days later, taking an easterly route to oppose the same body, by intercepting their supplies and circling round to attack them in rear. A column under Letwè-wengmhu also marched north to oppose the invaders advancing by the valley of the Shwèlè on Momeit.

When the army under Mahâ Sithu had advanced beyond Thiboa they encountered the Chinese under Myinkhunrè. The invaders were far superior in numbers and the Burmese were defeated. Mahâ Sithu then retreated down the line of the Myitngè. Considerable alarm prevailed in the city, but the king was undaunted, and calmly issued his orders for defence.

The column under Mahâ Thihathura marched by the route south of the Myitngè. The Chinese army drew large supplies of provisions from the country east of the Salwîn, and had a depôt in a stockade at Lashô, west of that river. This stockade was taken and many convoys intercepted. A detachment was also sent, which occupied the Taku ferry on the Salwîn, where a large number of laden horses and mules were captured. Mahâ Thihathura with his main body pushed on to

Thinnî, where the Chinese general, Sutâloarè, commanded in the stockade. The Burmese entered the city and the Soabwâ fled to the stockade. The Chinese garrison soon became straitened for provisions—the arrival of which had been intercepted—and the Burmese commander cut off their water supply. The Chinese soldiers began to desert. The general, a younger brother of the emperor, according to the Burmese history, seeing only death or surrender before him, committed suicide. The garrison, utterly disheartened, ceased to make resistance, and the Burmese entered the stockade. The Burmese general, leaving a garrison in the place, marched without delay on Thiboa, in order to operate on the rear of Myinkhunrè. Burmese victory.

That Chinese general had not followed up his first success with vigour. In his march on Ava, which he hoped to enter, and so close the war, he found the Burmese army under Mahâ Sithu in position at Lun-kâpyingyi. About the same time he heard of the defeat and death of his colleague. This news made him irresolute. The Burmese general, dreading the anger of the king, and burning to retrieve his former defeat, made a night attack on the Chinese. It was successful; and Myinkhunrè, abandoning the line by which he had advanced from Thinnî, retreated to Taungbaing. There he took post on a hill. Mahâ Sithu followed him up, and was soon joined by the victorious column of Mahâ Thihathura. The Chinese general now made no further attempt to carry out the original object of the invasion, but retreated precipitately from Burmese territory. The invading divisions which had marched against Bamo and Momeit had effected nothing, and retired by joining the main body under Myinkhunrè. By the middle of March the last of the enemy's troops had been driven across the Salwin, and the Burmese generals returned to the capital.

The Chinese retreat to their own country.

A. D. 1768.

But Burma had to struggle once more against the attack of a powerful and persevering foe. It was with

Fourth invasion by the Chinese.

a heavy heart that the king again prepared to resist invasion ; for the dreaded omen of the great national pagodas being rent by earthquake seemed to portend coming disaster. Vast treasures were lavished in repairing damage to the *hti* or crowns of the *Shwezîgun* at *Pugân* and of the *Shwè Dagon* at *Rangoon* ; while in these shrines were deposited gold and silver images in thousands, in hope that the threatened vengeance of the invisible powers might thereby be averted.

Hardly had the solemn ceremonies with which these offerings were presented been completed, when the governors of *Bamoa* and *Kaungton* reported the appearance of a powerful Chinese army on the frontier. It was commanded by three principal generals, whose names or titles, as given in the Burmese history, are *Sukunrè*, *Âkunrè*, and *Ywunkunrè*. They moved down the valley of the *Tapeng* to the *Yoayî* mountain, where they halted and detached a division under *Hsengtâri*, to march on *Mogaung*. In an adjoining forest they felled suitable trees, which were shaped into planks, and were then conveyed to a suitable spot higher up the *Irâwadi*, where boats were to be built. They had brought many carpenters for this service, and the duty of carrying out their orders was entrusted to *Loatâri*, with an adequate force at his disposal. Having made these arrangements, the three generals proceeded on towards *Bamoa*.

A. D. 1769. To meet this formidable invasion the king sent an army under the master of the ordnance, *Thihathu*, which left *Ava* in the last week of September, and marched on *Mogaung* by the west bank of the *Irâwadi*. A second army, of which *Mahâ Thihathura* was commander-in-chief, moved in boats up the river, designed to meet the invaders at or near *Bamoa* ; while the elephants and the cavalry, under the *Momit Soabwâ* and *Kyoateng Râjâ*, marched north by the east bank of the river.

The Chinese plan of operations was generally similar to that of the campaign of 1767. The three generals, marching in the direction of Bamoa, did not enter that town, but constructed a strong stockade at Shwèngyaungbeng, twelve miles east of Kaungton. Ywunkunrè was left in command there, while the other two generals proceeded with the bulk of the force to invest Kaungton. Balamenghteng commanded there. The Chinese generals made many attacks on the place, both from the land side and from the river face, by means of the boats they brought down the river. Balamenghteng well sustained the reputation he had gained, and the Chinese were repulsed with great slaughter.

Mahâ Thihathura had been somewhat slow in his movement up the river, but at length he reached Tagaung. He sent on a division in light boats to throw reinforcements of men and ammunition into Kaungton, which service was effected, and many of the Chinese boats were destroyed or taken. A Burmese officer, Sânhlâgyi, built a stockade on the river bank below Kaungton, while the remainder of the division occupied an island on the west bank opposite Kaungton. The Chinese had now lost command of the river. Mahâ Thihathura, continuing his progress by river from Tagaung, joined the division on the island, directing operations from that station, and keeping his own force as a reserve to be used when required. The elephants and cavalry, with a strong division under Letwèwengmhu, who now took command of this column, continued marching by the east bank on Momit, there to await further orders. The commander-in-chief also sent a column under Tingyâ Mengkhaung to the east bank of the river above Bamoa, to cut off supplies coming to the Chinese force, which was still investing Kaungton, on the land side. The column under the Letwèwengmhu marched boldly on towards Kaungton, and defeated a Chinese detached

force sent against it. Tingyá Meng Khaung, approaching from the north, was equally successful in an attack on him. The result of these engagements was, that the Chinese generals Sukunrè and Akunrè fell back on their line of retreat by the Tapeng with half the force, while the remainder were compelled to withdraw into the great stockade at Shwèngyaungbeng. The division under Hsengtáí, which had marched on Mogaung, did not reach that town, and was held in check on the east of the Iráwadi by Thibathu.

Letwéwengmhu now combined the several divisions which were on the east of the Iráwadi to attack the great stockade. The assault was made simultaneously on the four faces of the work, and was successful. The Burmese forced an entrance, but, from the great extent of the works, they were unable to prevent the escape of the Chinese general, Ywunkunrè, who, with those of his men not killed or disabled in the attack, fled and joined his two colleagues. Several more boats belonging to the Chinese were now destroyed, and the Burmese having taken immense stores of arms, powder, and lead, were enabled to arm several battalions more efficiently than they were before.

The Chinese
generals sue
for peace.

The commander-in-chief, Mahá Thihathura, now took measures to complete the discomfiture of the invaders. He sent several thousand fresh men across the river, and established his own headquarters on the eastern bank. The Chinese generals, discouraged by defeat and straitened for provisions, determined to negotiate, in order to secure an unmolested retreat. They addressed a letter to Mahá Thihathura, in which they attributed the war to misunderstanding caused by the intrigues of the Soabwás of Thinní, Bamao, Mogaung, and Kyaingyun. They proposed that these officials, then in Chinese territory, should be exchanged for the Chinese officers who were prisoners, and that the relations of the two countries should be

established as they were before the war. Mahā Thī-hathura called a council of his principal officers and asked their opinion. They replied that the Chinese had invaded the country with a vast army, evidently intending to conquer it. The enemy had been defeated, and were now surrounded like cows in a pound. In a few days they would be still more helpless from hunger, and the officers unanimously recommended that no terms should be granted. The commander-in-chief observed it was true that the Chinese had wantonly invaded their country, but China was a powerful empire, and could send even more men than the vast hosts which had already appeared. If these men now at their mercy were destroyed, the quarrel between the two countries would be perpetuated, and great evil would result to future generations. He therefore considered it advisable to come to a settlement with the Chinese generals, and should the king disapprove of this course, on him alone would the blame rest. The council did not oppose this wise resolution, and a conciliatory reply having been sent to the letter of the Chinese generals, and preliminaries having been agreed to, fourteen Burmese and thirteen Chinese commissioners, appointed by the commanders-in-chief of both armies, met in a temporary building near to Kaungtun. A document styled "a written contract of settlement" was drawn up and agreed to by all present. It stated in general terms that peace and friendship were to be established as of old between the two great countries, and the gold and silver road, or commerce, to be open as before; presents were exchanged between the commissioners of both nations, and, in accordance with former custom, it was agreed that letters of friendship were to be sent every ten years from one sovereign to the other. The question of boundary between the two countries, which had formed a subject of correspondence, was not mentioned in the document, nor was the surrender of the Soabwās and prisoners inserted therein.

A convention for peace, friendship, and commerce agreed to, December 18, 1769.

The Chinese appear to have still had some boats in their possession at the time of the negotiations, but no distinct arrangement regarding them had been come to. After having used the boats to convey stores to Bamoa, they burnt them, instead of giving them up to the Burmese, as was expected. This act gave rise to some sharp altercation, but the Burmese general contented himself with remonstrating. The remnant of the invading army retired by the route of the Tapeng river, watched or escorted by a Burmese corps. Thousands of Chinese soldiers died in the mountains of fatigue and hunger.

* * *

The king disapproves the convention made with the Chinese generals.

THE invading army having retired, the Burmese general dispatched to the capital a report of his proceedings, and forwarded the presents which he had received from the Chinese commanders. Hsengbyusheng, indignant that the enemy had been allowed to escape, rejected the offerings, and ordered the families of the principal officers of the army, including the wife of the commander-in-chief, to remain kneeling at the western gate of the palace, bearing the presents on their heads. For three days and nights they were unnoticed, after which they were allowed to withdraw. But when Mahâ Thihathura returned to Ava, he and the principal officers were banished from the city for one month. From China no direct communication as to the convention was made; but Chinese caravans began to arrive according to former custom, and the Burmese court allowed trade to go on as formerly.

War against Siam.

When the Burmese army was recalled from Siam to oppose the Chinese invaders, the general, Thihapatè, carried away the members of the Siamese royal family, who had fallen into his hands. There then arose in Siam a man named Phayâ Tâk, said to be the son of a Chinaman, who gathered round him a body of armed men and, attacking the retreating Burmese, inflicted

on them severe losses.¹ Having gradually increased his followers, he assumed the title of king, brought several of the Shân states again under Siamese dominion, and for greater security for the future, established his capital at Bangkok. He next conquered Viang Chang, called also Chandapuri, then the capital of the principal state of Laos, on the Mekong. Later, a Burmese force occupied Zimmè, where Thadô Mengteng was appointed governor. When the opportunity appeared favourable, Hsengbyusheng determined to recover what he had lost in Siam, and an army under Thihapatè marched to Zimmè. The general there assembled the contingents of the Shân chiefs, and proceeded to Viang Chang, the king of which state had implored protection against the Siamese. The Burmese governor of Zimmè, by his contemptuous treatment of the Shân chiefs, had roused their indignation, and three of them, whom he intended to forward as prisoners to Ava, fled from the territory. He next disputed the authority of the commander-in-chief, Thihapatè, who was on his march into Siam proper. The general was obliged to halt, partly from want of due support from the governor of Zimmè and partly from the determined front shown by the Siamese troops. Meanwhile disasters threatened to paralyse the Burmese operations at other points. The governor of Martaban, Kâmani Sânda, had embodied a force, composed principally of Talaings, intended to move by Tavoy and Mergui. After a few days' march the Talaing troops mutinied. Kâmani Sânda with difficulty escaped, and, escorted by a body-guard of Burmese soldiers, retired to Martaban. Not venturing to remain there, he fled to Rangoon. The Talaing mutineers under Binya Sin followed him up and besieged the stockade. They failed in an attempt to storm it; and as a Burmese army under the governor

¹ Bowring's Siam, vol. i. pp. 58-60; also vol. ii., Appendix A, pp. 349-363.

of Myânaung began to appear, they withdrew, and returning to Martaban, fled into Siam with their wives and children. Hsengbyusheng now raised an army of thirty thousand men, composed of Burmese and northern Shâns, to which Mahâ Thihathura was appointed general. He moved down to Martaban, prepared to march on the capital of Siam.

Expedition to
Manipur and
Kachâr.

These extensive preparations to recover lost ground in Siam did not interfere with the king's design to extend his dominion toward the north-west. Under the pretence that the ruler of Manipur had repaired the defences of his capital since they had been destroyed by Alaunghprâ, an army was sent, which not only ravaged that state, but pushed on into Kachâr, and thence northwards across a high mountain-range into Jaintia. The invaders suffered immense loss, but the Râjâ of Kachâr had to submit for the time. The remnant of the Burmese army returned home after two years, having gained no advantage to the empire.

The king goes to
Rangoon.

While this predatory excursion was still in progress, the king determined to go himself to Rangoon, both to be nearer to the scene of operations against Siam, and to place a new hti or crown on the great pagoda, Shwè Dagun. This was a religious act, which by force of its own merit might bring the reward of victory, and it was hoped would favourably impress the Talaing people. The king left Ava and proceeded in grand state down the Irâwadi. The deposed king of Pegu and his nephew, who had remained prisoners for fourteen years, were led in the royal train. Hsengbyusheng, delaying on the way while he worshipped pagodas at Pugân and Prome, only reached Rangoon after a progress of three months. He adorned the great pagoda with a magnificent golden jewelled crown, and after this display of religious zeal, the captive king of Pegu was with a mockery of justice

Middle of Decem-
ber, A. D. 1774.

put on his trial before a special tribunal. He was declared guilty of having excited the Talaing people to rebellion and was publicly executed. Hsengbyusheng April, A.D. 1775. after this cruel deed set out to return to his capital.

Mahā Thihathura, having many difficulties to overcome in preparations for the campaign, did not commence his march from Martaban until the close of the rainy season. The route he selected lay eastward, so as to gain the upper waters of the Menâm. He reached Rahaing with little opposition from the Siamese. Dissensions among officers of high rank, now the curse of the Burmese armies in the field, soon broke out. The second in the command, Zêya Kyo, protested against the plan of operations, and returned to Martaban with a portion of the troops. Mahā Thihathura persevered in his march. He was successful in occupying Pitsalauk and Thaukkatai, but suffered a severe defeat from the Siamese, and was compelled to make an ignominious retreat towards the frontier.

Unsuccessful invasion of Siam.

In the midst of these disasters Hsengbyusheng died at Ava, and was succeeded by his son Singgusā at the age of nineteen years. He was determined to put an end to the Siamese war. But Zêya Kyo by court favour was allowed to return to the army, and having succeeded in a skirmish with the Siamese, was considered to have atoned for his mutinous conduct. The armies in the Upper Menam and in the Zimmè territory were ordered to withdraw from the Siamese territory, where they no longer could remain with safety. Several officers suffered death for alleged misconduct before the enemy, and Mahā Thihathura was disgraced and deprived of his office of Wungyi.

Death of Hsengbyusheng. Succession of Singgusā, June, A.D. 1776.

II.

INTRODUCTION.

Contrary to the wishes of Alaung Mintayagyi that those of his sons who survived him should succeed to the throne in order of their seniority, King Sinbyushin was succeeded by his son, Prince of Singu,¹ although at the time there were four sons of Alaung Mintayagyi still alive, namely, Amyin Min, Bādōn Min, Pakan Min, and Pindalā Min. The Burmese history does not say that King Sinbyushin openly expressed the wish that his son should succeed him, in preference to any of his brothers, but most probably he did make the ministers in attendance upon him understand that such was his wish. In this case paternal love must have outweighed filial duty, and in the absence of a well recognized rule of the right of primogeniture, succession to the throne according to the wishes of the last deceased king has, more often than not, resulted in bloodshed; at least such had been the case in the history of the kings of Burma.

THE TRANSLATION.

Only six days after the accession of Singu Min to the throne, he ordered the execution of his half-brother the Prince of Salin or Salinza,² in a manner customary in the case of persons of the royal blood, for conspiracy against him, or for entertaining improper schemes, as it is euphoniously expressed in the usual style of the Burmese historian. This unfortunate young prince was a son of the daughter of the King known as Hanthawadi-yauk-min.* Several high officials also suffered death as being accomplices of the prince.

The first thing that the new King did in matters military was to order the recall of all the forces under Wangyi Maha Thihathura operating against Yodaya and those under Myin Wun Nemyo Thiba-

¹ จิงกฺจา ราชบุตร คุพระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ หน้า ๑๒๖ และ
คำให้การชาวอังวะ หน้า ๑๖.

² แสงจา ผู้น้องพระเจ้า จิงกฺจา คุไนท์แห่งเดียวกัน และคำให้
การชาวอังวะ หน้า ๑๗.

* Vide Siam Society Journal Vol. VIII. part II. page 103.

pate operating against Sandapuri and Zinnè. The latter had suffered a severe reverse and been obliged to fall back on Monè.

Wungyi Maha Thihathura with his force of sixty regiments remained at Môtama during the rains of the year 1137 (A. D. 1775), and at the close of the rains in Thadingyut (October), he marched via Yahaing and captured Yahaing, Peik-Tônkyaw, Thaukkatè, Tani, Thuiwunkalauk, and Peikthalauk.³ He was confronted by the forces under the King of Yodaya at the junction of two rivers. The Siamese tried to envelope the Burmese, but in the night, the Burmese general sent a force under Pyanchi-Yègaung-kyaw to the rear of the Siamese. In the ensuing engagement, personally conducted by the Wungyi himself, the Siamese forces were compelled to retire. Pyanchi-Yègaung-kyaw, Pakan Bo, and Kyaw-Kathu were ordered to press the pursuit and keep in touch with the retreating enemy, while the Wungyi himself would follow in the rear. At this stage, orders recalling them reached the Wungyi, and he sent messengers in different directions to recall the three commanders who had gone in pursuit. One party came up with Kyaw-Kathu at a village a little to the north of Kundaw Intaung.⁴ The Pakan Bo was overtaken by another party at a junction of two rivers. The messengers who were sent after Pyanchi-Yègaung-kyaw failed to meet the commander and returned without having accomplished their mission. The leader of the party was therefore executed. Fresh messengers were sent in several directions, and they also failed to find the commander. Wungyi Maha Thihathura had to return without Pyanchi-Yègaung-kyaw and the detachment under him. This commander must have been too eager in his pursuit. The Burmese history says that he was surrounded several times by an overwhelming force of Siamese, but he succeeded in breaking through the cordon every time, and made his way to Akyaw, Linzin, thence to Zinmè and from there to Ava.

The forces under Myin Wun Nemyo Thihapate rested for a time at Monè, after their retreat from Zimmè. Then with the intention of joining Wungyi Maha Thihathura, they made their way towards Môtta. The messengers conveying the orders recalling them, overtook them at Sittaung and they all returned, reaching the capital in the year 1138 (A. D. 1776).

⁸ ดูพระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ หน้า ๓๐๐ แด่ต่อไป.

4. อย่างไร?

The new King performed the "Rājabhiseka" or coronation ceremony, on Monday the 15th of waxing Pyatho 1138 (January A.D. 1777), and assumed the title of Maha Damayaza (Mahā Dhammarājā.) This title he subsequently amplified into Maha Damayazadiyaza (Mahā Dhammarājādhirājā). But in this paper it is more convenient to call him Singu Min, by which name he is also known among the Burmese, while Sir Arthur Phayre called him Singgusā.

On the same day that the coronation ceremony was performed, a force of 1500 horse and 15,000 men in 8 regiments under the supreme command of Amyauk Wun Nemyo Thihathu was despatched to go and capture Lagun and Pathin.⁵ The Hmannan history does not mention any more about this force sent to northern Siam, and it is not known what it did and when it returned.

Singu Min apparently did not trust his four uncles, Amyin Min,⁶ Badôn Min,⁷ Pakan Min,⁸ and Pindalè Min,⁹ but at first he dared not do any harm to them and contented himself with limiting their personal attendants to twenty-five men each, and restricting their movements. But in Tawthalin 1139 (September, A.D. 1777) he ordered the execution of Amyin Min for conspiring against him¹⁰; several prominent men were also put to death for aiding and abetting the Prince of Amyin. In Kasôn 1140 (May, A.D. 1778) he sent Badôn Min to go and stay at Sagaing, Pakan Min at Pin-ya, and Pindalè Min at Ywathitkyi.

Wungyi Maha Thihathura, who had distinguished himself in repelling the invasions of the Chinese, but who, in one way or another, showed himself to be a poor disciplinarian and a bad strategist in the invasion of Yodaya, was unfortunate enough to incur the displeasure of King

⁵ จุฬาราชพงษชาดการ เล่ม ๓ หน้า ๓๒๖.

⁶ อะเมียงดะแซง }

⁷ มะตุย } จุฬาคำให้การชาวอังวะ หน้า ๓๗ แดพระรราชพงษา

⁸ ปะคานดะแซง } จดการ เล่ม ๓ หน้า ๓๒๖.

⁹ แปงดะดะ }

¹⁰ จุฬาคำให้การชาวอังวะ หน้า ๓๗.

Singu Min, for some reason not mentioned in the Hmannan history. In Nayôn 1139 (June, A. D. 1777), he was removed from the rank of of Wungyi (Minister of first rank),¹¹ and his daughter who had been raised to the rank of Queen of the Northern Palace, with the title of Thiri Maha Mingla Dewi (Siri Mahāmangalā Devī), second only to the Chief Queen, and who had hitherto been a favourite, was degraded and sent back to her father. The Queen of the Middle Palace, who enjoyed the title of Thiri Maha Nanda Dewi (Siri Mahānandā Devī) was raised to the rank of Queen of the Northern Palace, and her elder sister was created Queen of the Middle Palace, with the title of Maha Mingala Sanda Dewi (Mahāmangalā Candā Devī), and her younger sister was also raised to the rank of a Queen, called Queen of the Western Palace, with the title of Thiri Sanda Mahe (Siri Candāmahe). The degradation of the daughter, and the disgrace of the father, taking place about the same time, and the promotion, almost simultaneously, of the Queen of the Middle Palace, as well as the favours and honours conferred on her sisters, are very significant; but the real reasons for such sudden changes will be found only in the secret history of the Court of Burma, if there be such a work, or in the diary of some court diarist of the time. One may, however, venture to guess that it was, very probably, one of those not infrequent court intrigues, arising out of jealousy and other frailties of human nature, especially feminine human nature, and resulting in the downfall and ruin of one and the uplifting and triumph of another. In this instance, it is very likely that the fault of the daughter reflected on the father, who was punished for no other reason than that of being the father of one who was imprudent enough to fall foul of a dangerous and probably scheming rival, and to incur the serious displeasure of His Majesty. At least, subsequent events would seem to favour this supposition, because the Wungyi and his family were practically deported to Sagaing, and not long after, the daughter, who had ranked second in His Burman Majesty's estimation of the fair sex, was ordered to be drowned in the river.

King Alaung Mintayagyi's eldest son, the Prince of Dabayin who ascended the throne on the death of his father with the title of King Thiri Thudamayaza (Siri Sudhammarājā), but who is commonly known as King Naungdawgyi (the eldest brother), left by his chief

¹¹ ดูคำให้การชาวอังวะ หน้า ๑๗.

queen, a son named Mauung Maung.¹² Ignoring the claims of the surviving sons of Alaung Mintayagyi, this youthful prince had as much, if not better, right to the throne than his cousin King Singu Min. Towards the close of the year 1141 (A. D. 1780), he must have come under the suspicion of his cousin, as he was ordered to go and reside at the village of Paungga. Probably he was given the privilege of enjoying the state share of the revenues derived from the village, as he was known subsequently as Paunggaza, (eater of Paungga).

The youthful King now busied himself in building or repairing monasteries and pagodas and having them most superbly gilded. But his religious zeal did not prevent him from indulging in youthful pleasures and amusements. He surrounded himself with young courtiers and ministers, and nobles of tender age, who were probably more eager to enjoy life than to attend to affairs of State. Surrounded by such young and inexperienced men, he took to indulging in intoxicating drinks, and in course of time, the days in which he was completely under the influence of liquor greatly outnumbered those in which he was sober enough to be able to attend to important business. Very few of his young courtiers, including ministers, and personal attendants, were sober men. Even his guards could not be relied upon to remain sober while on duty. The young King amused himself with his young courtiers in gambling, cock-fighting, fishing, hunting, &c, knowing no regular hours, and turning night into day, and day into night.

In Nadaw 1143 (December, A. D. 1781) he raised his half sister Mingin Myoza (eater of Mingin town) who enjoyed the title of Thiripapa-dewi (Sīripabhādevī) and who was a grand-daughter of Hanthawadi-yauk-min on her mother's side, to the rank of a queen. She was the sister of the young Prince known as Salinza who was executed soon after the young King ascended the throne; although she did not then share the fate of her brother, she was, nevertheless, degraded and made to reside outside the precincts of the palace, practically neglected and uncared for. The ups and downs in the court life of the Burmese royal family certainly afford an interesting study of

¹² มังหม่อง หรือ มอญหม่อง คุพรรราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ หน้า ๓๗๓ ๓๗๔ แต่ทำให้การชาวองวะ หน้า ๓๗.

the fickleness of fortune and the capriciousness of an untutored autocratic mind.

As usual with one in pursuit of pleasure, King Singu Min must have found monotony unbearable. Therefore, he was always on the move, either to perform his devotions at some sacred shrine or to celebrate the dedication ceremony of a new monastery or a new pagoda, either to attend the catching of wild elephants or to amuse himself with a pleasure trip to some place outside the city. On his return from such journeys, he very seldom returned to the palace within the city, but passed his time in a floating palace outside the city gate, called Man-aung gate, on the north side of the city. On Saturday the 5th of waning Tabodwè 1143 (February, A. D. 1782) he went on a pilgrimage to the Thihadaw pagoda, some distance up the river to the north of the capital, accompanied by his mother, sisters, and queens.

Maung Maung, son of King Naungdawgyi, a youth still in his teens, being just over eighteen, who had been kept at Paungga village, took advantage of his cousin's absence from the capital to usurp the throne. The Burmese history says that he had been scheming to carry out this usurpation for some time previously ; but considering his tender age and his total lack of capacity to grasp and realize the new situation created by the attempt to overthrow the reigning sovereign, it is more likely that he was made a tool in the hands of those whose ambition it was to be in power and whose intention it was to benefit themselves by the inexperience of a young prince, who had just as good a claim to the throne as their king *de facto*. Having collected his adherents, he came to Ava on the night of Tuesday the 8th of waning Tabodwè, that is, three days after Singu Min had left the capital. About midnight they approached the city and told the guards at Man-aung gate, that the King had returned in advance of his entourage in a fast boat. Since the time he took to drink, Singu Min had been in the habit of presenting himself at the gates of the city at all unreasonable hours and demanding immediate entrance. The head guard, therefore, thought that it was one of those drunken whims of the King to return to the palace at such time of the night. He had the gates opened, and Maung Maung and his men thus gained entrance into the city. The chosen guards of the "red gate" which was the principal gate of the palace enclosure were deceived similarly and for the same reason. When the party gained the throne room,

messengers were sent to all the ministers, nobles and officials who were on duty at the time, at various places within the palace enclosure, such as the supreme court, council chamber, the inner gates of the palace, &c., to attend on the King immediately. These men thought it was one of those many occasions on which His Majesty had imbibed too freely, and not knowing the reason for which they were summoned, hastened to the throne room with all despatch. Only when they had all assembled in the court-yard in front of the throne room, they found out they had been deceived, but then it was too late. They were overawed and compelled to remain there till dawn, when they all had to take the oath of allegiance to Maung Maung. According to arrangements previously made, several of Maung Maung's men who were in the city a day before Maung Maung arrived took charge of all the city gates that very night. All the gates were closed, and preparations made to defend the city in case of attack. People living round about the city were taken into it; all the houses on the approaches of the city were pulled down; and all kinds of obstacles for elephants, horses, and men, such as hurdles, bars, spikes, thorns, &c, were laid down on the ground cleared of the houses.

Maung Maung probably feared that his uncles would give trouble; more probably he was advised by those who carried out this revolt to make his position secure by confining them. He sent messengers to where they had been made to reside by Singu Min, and requested them to come and live in their old residences in Ava. Some of the nobles and ministers who were degraded and disgraced by his cousin were recalled and reinstated; of these, Wungyi Maha Thiha-thura was one.

One of the officials on duty in the palace on the night that Maung Maung entered it, discovered that the individual who had entered the palace was not the King himself, but he had no time to find out who he was. He managed to slip out of the palace and fortunately succeeded in passing one of the gates, where there was great confusion caused by the usurper's adherents trying to get inside in large numbers. He went straight to Singu Min and informed him of what had taken place in the palace. But it was only a few days afterwards that full information of what had occurred in the capital was obtained from an adherent of one of the ministers in the King's entourage, who had hurried to his master to convey the news.

Singu Min made arrangements to regain admission into the city and dispossess the usurper of the throne. But unfortunately all his arrangements miscarried. As a last resource he decided to go into Chinese territory and ask the assistance of the Chinese Emperor; accordingly, he proceeded up the river Eyawadi together with his mother, sisters, and queens, accompanied by such adherents as were with him then. Even in this last hope he was to be disappointed, as the officers and men of the small force he still had gradually deserted him on the way up. When he reached a place called Sanpènago, still a long way from the Chinese frontier, there were not sufficient men left to tow his barge. At this stage such of his ministers as had remained with him, advised him to return to Ava and trust to his luck. To this he readily agreed, and proceeded down the river, to return to the capital where he could scarcely hope to receive any other treatment than that usual in the annals of Burma.

Although Maung Maung had gained possession of the throne, his position was far from secure. His personal attendants, mostly men from the village where he had been virtually a state prisoner, were too eager to take advantage of their sudden rise to power and temporary good fortune, by dispossessing all and sundry residing in the capital, of their valuables and possessions.¹³ The discontent caused by the rapacious and overbearing conduct of these unscrupulous attendants must have been very considerable, as a few wise and far seeing ministers and officials took the liberty to warn the new King of the danger that would arise from such abuses and advised him to stop them. They also warned him of another source of danger, namely that his three uncles were still alive, and that every one of them was entitled to become King; and moreover they were all men of great ability and experience. To make Maung Maung's hold of the throne secure, his advisers saw no other way than that of putting them all to death. But it was not an easy matter to carry it out, as there were people who would willingly support their claims to sovereignty. The first step these advisers took to attain their end was to get hold of all the principal men who were assigned as retainers of the three surviving sons of Alaungpaya, during the time of their father and of their two brothers who had ascended the throne. These retainers were called up

¹³ ดูคำให้การชาวอังวะ หน้า ๓๘.

to the capital, on the pretence that they were to be attached to their respective masters, whereas in reality they were to be kept in close confinement. This artifice was not sufficient to hoodwink the three sons of Badôn Min, the eldest of the three surviving sons of Alaungpaya. These young princes who were in close attendance on their cousin found out the real intention in calling up the principal retainers of their father and uncles. They gave timely warning of the impending danger to their father, who consulted his brothers as to what steps they should take, pointing out that their lives were in danger. Badôn Min's eldest son recommended immediate action to forestall the plans of those who were trying to bring about their destruction ; he said the time was opportune as the attention and energies of the court party were still directed towards capturing Singu Min. This recommendation was supported by Pindalâ Min as well as by the others, and it was resolved to take a counter stroke and seize the throne. A priest whom Badôn Min had been supporting was asked to examine the prince's horoscope, make thorough astrological calculations, and find out the auspicious moment for the execution of this counter stroke. The calculations showed that the afternoon of that very day, Monday the 14th of waning of Tabodwè 1143 (February, A. D. 1782) coinciding with the birth-day of Badôn Min, was most auspicious, and it was therefore decided to put the scheme into execution at once. The struggle that ensued between the usurping party and the palace guards could not have been a serious one, as Maung Maung was captured that very evening and forthwith put to death.

Maung Maung, also known as Paunggaza, was born on Thursday the 6th of waxing Thadingyut 1125 (October, A. D. 1763) ; he seized the throne from his cousin at the age of eighteen years and four months, and before he could have really known what sovereignty meant, being probably a mere puppet in the hands of scheming courtiers, was dethroned on the 7th day of his Kingship, for which short-lived honour he paid very dearly with his head.

Three days after the deposition and death of Maung Maung, those who were engaged in the pursuit of Singu Min arrived with him, his mother, sisters, queens, and personal attendants. Singu Min, his four queens, and several of his attendants and adherents were executed at once. This unfortunate King, whose regal title was Maha Damayazadiyaza (Mahā Dhammarājādhirāja), was born on Monday the

12th of waxing Kasôn 1118 (May, A. D. 1756), became King in succession to his father, on Monday the 10th of waning Nayôn 1138 (June, A. D. 1776), at the age of 20 years and 1 month, reigned for about 5 years and 8 months, and met an untimely death at the hands of his uncle. The Burmese historian says that King Maha Damayazadiyaza was very liberal in making donations for religious purposes, and gifts or rewards to his attendants, that the commencement of his reign was prosperous and quiet, and that he went wrong only when he took to drink.

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF
THE SAME NARRATIVE.

Death of Hseng-byusheng. Succession of Singgusâ, June, A.D. 1776.

In the midst of these disasters Hsengbyusheng died at Ava, and was succeeded by his son Singgusâ at the age of nineteen years. He was determined to put an end to the Siamese war. But Zêya Kyo by court favour was allowed to return to the army, and having succeeded in a skirmish with the Siamese, was considered to have atoned for his mutinous conduct. The armies in the Upper Menam and in the Zimmè territory were ordered to withdraw from the Siamese territory, where they no longer could remain with safety. Several officers suffered death for alleged misconduct before the enemy, and Mahâ Thihathura was disgraced and deprived of his office of Wungyi.

Plots against Singgusâ. Palace seized by conspirators.

Singgusâ, suspicious of plots, put to death a younger brother of his own, and also his uncle, the fourth son of Alaunghprâ. The fifth son, then known as Badun Meng, an astute prince, was sent to live at Sagaing, where he was closely watched. The son of Naungdongyi remained. Maung Maung, who was a child at the time of his father's death, became an object of anxiety to the court party as a probable tool in the hands of conspirators. He had been brought up in a monastery, and was now placed in the village of Phaungkâ, where it was supposed he would be less dangerous than elsewhere. The king seemed to be satisfied with the precautions taken against conspiracy, and wearied with the monotonous life in the palace, all warlike expeditions being suspended, made frequent pilgrimages to distant pagodas. He was accustomed to leave the palace, and return suddenly after an interval without warning. A conspiracy, which was joined by several influential men, was formed against him, and was supposed to be secretly supported by Badun Meng. This plot was formed on the plausible

ground that if the rule of succession in favour of the sons of Alaunghprâ were departed from, then the son of the eldest, Naungdoagyî, had the best claim. As possession of the palace is the chief manifestation of right to the throne in Burma, the frequent absences of Singgusâ soon offered a favourable opportunity to the conspirators. The young king had gone with his chief queen, his mother, and sisters to worship at a pagoda about fifty miles up the Irâwadi. The young prince, Maung Maung, came suddenly at midnight to the palace gate, and his followers demanded admission for the king. The guard at the outer gate admitted the party without delay. At one of the inner gates the guard resisted, but was overpowered. The prince at the head of his followers gained possession of the palace, and forced the high officials in charge therein, to swear allegiance to him as king. In the morning several men of rank, old servants under former kings, being summoned, arrived at the city and were appointed to office. Mahâ Thihathura took command of troops to defend the palace. The Badun Meng and other members of the royal family came to the capital, and remained apparently passive.

About 8th
February, A. D.
1781.

Singgusâ was at this time at a village about fifty miles distant. The next day he heard of the event. He at once, with all his retinue, crossed the river to Singgumyû, intending to march down to the city. Hearing later that the whole of the capital had turned against him, he retired farther north to Sanpênago. There his retinue gradually left him, and at last the crews of the royal boats deserting, he was left with only a few followers and his own relations.

In the palace, the Atwen Wuns, ministers for personal affairs, quickly came to the conclusion that the boy Maung Maung was utterly unfit to rule. All who had abetted the conspiracy looked to the Badun Meng as the fittest to occupy the throne. He, prepared for the occasion, at once referred to the declara-

Succession of
Bodoahprâ.

tion of Alaunghprâ on his death-bed, that his sons should succeed him according to their seniority. Already he had collected a body of armed men, and found no difficulty in entering the palace. Maung Maung, after a six days' reign, was seized and put to death. He was only eighteen years of age. Badun Meng was forthwith proclaimed king. He assumed various titles afterwards, especially that of Hsengbyu Mya Sheng, but is now usually known as Bodoahprâ. The unfortunate Singgusâ, and those who remained with him, were sent to the city as prisoners, and all, including children and attendants, were ruthlessly burnt to death.

March. A. D.
1782.

SOME NOTES ABOUT THE CHAUBUN.

A DISAPPEARING TRIBE IN THE KORAT PROVINCE.

BY

MAJOR E. SEIDENFADEN OF THE PROVINCIAL GENDARMERIE.

When on a tour of inspection to the Amphieu district of Paktung-chai (ปากตุงชัย) in the month of March this year (1918) I had the opportunity of meeting some members of the above named tribe and from long conversations with two of their village elders I gathered the following information which might be of interest both to ethnologists and philologists:—

The Chaubun, or as they call themselves *Nia-kuol*, lived until some 60 years ago mostly as hunters and nomads roaming in the big virgin forests on the northern slopes of the Dungrek hills, which form the boundary between the Korat and the Pachin provinces. The limits of their roamings were to the west the ill-famed Dung Phya Fai, and to the east the sources of the Lam Plai Māt, a tributary to the Mūn river. This part of the Dungrek chain, generally called Pu Khao Kāmpēng Mūang, represents the highest and wildest part of the whole chain and is clothed in luxuriant virgin forests. Some mountain passes, only practicable for pedestrians and pack animals, lead down to the Pachin plains from the Korat plateau, the best known of these passes being Chūng Sakaerat, due south of Paktung-chai. In former days before the construction of the Korat railway, heavy traffic passed through this last pass, untold numbers of pack bullocks bringing down produce from Korat and returning with merchandise from Muangs Krabin or Pachin, the nearest river ports to Bangkok. Nowadays all this has been altered, the passes are rarely visited by man with the exception of some few cattle thieves or gendarmarie patrols. In the big mysterious forest all sorts of game abound. The tiger and the wild elephant are common, sambur, buck and barking deer abound, even the terrible kating ox is met with here, and sometimes if you are lucky, as I was once, you may have a glimpse of that rare animal the rhinoceros,

Among the trees you will find the valuable rosewood (ไม้พยุง), and others producing the Mai Luk Put, Mai Tom and Mai Jum Nām used for the fabrication of the fragrant tōbs and joss-sticks. Among the clinging lianas the rattan and rubber-liana, and then all sorts of beautiful orchids, abound too. Down the mountain slopes between towering moss-clad rocks roll and twist myriads of crystal-pure brook-lets, which all go to feed the waters of Mūn far away in the plains. In these surroundings lived and hunted the Nia-kūols, planting their rais with rice, Indian corn, tobacco and gourds and dwelling under primitive leaf shelters until some 60 years ago, when they were induced to come down from their mountain fastnesses to the plain and settle in orderly built villages like other people. They are now mainly to be found in the *tambon* of Dakrup, about 15 miles S. W. of Paktung-chai, forming here 5 villages numbering about 500 Nia-kuol-speaking souls. There are also to be found Nia-kuols in Bān Dalingchan, *tambon* Konburi, S. E. of Paktung-chai, and in Bān Mābkrāt, *tambon* Chae (๔๕) Amphēu Kratok (นครทอง). In B. Dalingchan they number at most 20, in B. Mābkrāt the number given to me was about 200 persons. According to this the whole tribe should number about 700 individuals, but the number of *Nia-kuol-speaking* is not more than 500 to 600, as these people are rapidly becoming assimilated by the surrounding Tai and losing their characteristic peculiarities. The children in some villages are already ignorant of the language of their parents, and for the rest most of the members of the tribe prefer now to be called Tai for fear of being termed "savage". [Exactly the same thing is met within the Ubon-province, where the Sui or Kui like to call themselves Lāo or Khmēr instead of their proper names.] Aymonier in his book "Voyage dans le Laos" (1883-84) cites several other names of villages besides B. Mābkrāt in *tambon* Chae as peopled by Nia-kuols. I have not been able to identify these names and doubt if this author was correctly informed. The purest Nia-kuol tongue is spoken in *tambon* Dakrup; in other places the language is getting mixed up with Tai-icisms. The name Chau-bun, (๔๖ ๑๒) given to these people by the Tai people signifies of course "people from the upper parts" on Hill people, the significance of the name given by themselves, Nia-kuol, being the same, the term "kūol" standing for mountain, Nia for people.

I shall now try to cast some light on the origin of this interesting tribe, and I beg beforehand the pardon of those learned in the antiquities of Indo-China for my perhaps too daring hypotheses. But as the field, as far as I can gather, is yet untilled my conclusions might be of interest. In appearance the Niakuols are dark skinned of a chocolate brown, some even darker, with generally broad features much resembling the Kamēu-deum or Kūi-nā in Ubon. In some of them the features are distinctly negroid with heavy mouths, dilated nostrils and somewhat curly hair. Their stature is of middle height and as their language, as will be seen from the list of words attached to this article, partly resembles Mohn, partly Khmer and partly Kui or Khā, it may safely be inferred that they belong to the great Mohn-Khmer family. In his huge work "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia" the lamented Colonel Gerini, in speaking about the legendary Ho-ton, the black sinian-like aborigines of Champa and the Ho-ton-like Khā-ut in the Annamese cordillera, tells us that he has rediscovered this legendary people in a tribe living on the southern slopes of the Korat plateau (vide pages 252, 257 and 785 of the above cited work). Regarding the correctness of this statement I am not qualified to express an opinion, but the name Ho-ton or Khā-ut is certainly unknown in these regions. Besides the Chaubuns, one finds in the territory of Ampheus Paktung-chai and Kratok exiled Mohns, Lāos from Wieng-chan, Tai, and a single village peoples by Khās, former prisoners of war (from the Attapeu region I believe), who have all forgotten their language with the exception of one ancient pair. The name of these Khā is, as far I understand, Katang. [About these people I intend before long to write another paper.] By reason of the negroid strains in the Niakuols one might be tempted to affiliate them to the Chōngs in Chantaburi, about one-twentieth of the last named tribe being said to be negroid. And looking on the great amount of Mohn-Khmēr words and expressions, another idea (not necessarily in conflict with the first one) forces itself on one's mind. We hear very often that before the advent of the conquering Tai from the North, the lower valley of the Mēnam Chāo Phya was peopled by Mohn-Khmērs, the river partly forming the barrier between them, if a barrier it can be called, because the language spoken by these Mohn-Khmērs was a common one. The question is now: Does the Nia-kuol tongue not represent this former common language out of which the later separate Mohn and Khmēr languages were shaped? Not being a philologist

myself I do not pretend to solve this question, but would only suggest that there might be something in the above stated hypothesis.

About the life and manners of the Nia-kuols, and their mode of gaining a livelihood there is not much to be said. They till the ground, rear cattle and buffaloes, live in pile buildings like the surrounding Tai and Lāos, the religion of whom they have embraced too. Their women differ a little, especially those in B. Dakrup, wearing yet a peculiar kind of clothing called *N'nik* consisting of a single very long piece of homespun cotton which is wrapped round the waist several times and finally tied in a knot over the right hip. When travelling the women carry a basket on their back for putting food and things in. Small children are borne in a scarf riding on the hip of the mother. For carrying water the Nia-kuol girl formerly used bamboos like the Khās; now the common *klu* or watertight basket is used instead. Some of the Nia-kuol girls are quite good looking, and are generally in great demand among the youths of the neighbouring Tai villages. This intermarrying makes for the rapid assimilation of the whole tribe. Indeed the disappearance of the Nia-kuols, or at any rate of their language, is now only a question of time, a very short time too. The study of the language undertaken by a trained philologist as soon as possible to preserve it for posterity, seems, therefore, to be a matter of urgent importance.



A LIST OF NIA-KUOL WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS.

English	Nia-kuol	Talaing	Remarks
one	mūi	mōa	
two	barl	bā	
three	bī	boy	
four	ban	born	
five	sōn	basong	
six	trau	barau	
seven	dambo	habu	
eight	danjām	hajām	
nine	njīt	hajīt	
ten	jat	jo	
eleven	jat mūi	jo moa	
twelve	jat barl	jo bā	
twenty	barl sui	bā ju	
twenty-one	barl sui mūi	bā ju moa	
thirty	bī sui	boy ju	
one hundred	mūi chōk	klom	
one thousand	mūi pan	nīm	
ten thousand	jat pan	lāk	
I	Voy	{ Oa { Oa döich	
We	Böy	Boy	
* You	Pè	Bé	{ Pè in the Wah tongue
of me (my)	dak voy	mak oa	
of you (your)	dak pè	mak bé	
right	sdōm S, K	pabeung	
left	své K	pabay	
below	kantram K	lakhamō	
over	kandūl K	lakhadao	
before	nang jamo	hadamök	
behind	sang krau	toarau	
far	cha ngöy K	hūa	
near	ngen	klob	
* they	yin	nir	
inside	kāngnow	lakhatūa	
outside	kāngnok (Tai)	lakha-ngě	
east	ta-ngai dūn	hamok	
west	ta-ngai jé	alot	
north	kāng blai dīn	haleung jia	
south	kāng hua non	hamo jia	
sun	ta-ngai K	ngōa	
moon	kandō	hadāb	
stars	pagay K	h'nong	

English	Nia-kuol	Talaing	Remarks
sky	rangay	akă	
cloud	mok (Tai)	mot prōar	
rain	prōy S	proar	
wind	kayall S-K	jā	
thunder	kūol plo	haken harenin	
lightning	mat chalow	chaleu bok	
day	ta-ngai K	angoa	
night	badam	hadom	
to-day	hai o	vōa no	
to-morrow	muol	yé	
yesterday	asū-ngai	ngoa-nè	
morning	lauūr	noa ha yè	
midday	téang (Tai)	noa ngoa	
afternoon	bai („)	bai	
evening	plo	noa jānsok ngoa	
head	kathōb	dāp	
hair	sok S	sok	
nose	sungmo S	jamū	
ear	katuol S	ado	
eye	mat K-S	mot	
mouth	bāng	bāin	
tooth	ñier	nir	
tongue	handāk S	adach	
skin	sanām	nām	
hand	dōy S-K		
arm	kēn (Tai)	toa	
breast	déré	so	
breasts of a woman }	do S	do	
beard	sok mè	asok bāin	
leg	thōl	jān	
fool	chong K	dajān	
stomach	phōng (Tai) S	bong	
back	kasing	dutchā	
bone	chalot	jot	
blood	sim	chim	
heart	ñom	kōnjot	
soul	lopsong	bōnghamao	
god	?	jematao	
spirit	kantrok	kalok	
life	?	aʻon	
mankind	mané	n'ni	
man	pitruī	n'nikrow	
woman	prau	n'ni brēr	
child	koan S-K	kon	

English	Nia-kuol	Talaing	Remarks
son	koan trui	kon krow	
daughter	koan prau	kon brēr	
father	pa	apā	
mother	ōng	mē	
elder brother	bong	kau	
younger brother	kanjé	dé	
elder sister	l'lo	boa	
younger sister	kanjé prau	dé	
elder uncle	tawai	anai	
younger uncle	mām	adé	
aunt	chamom	énai	
nephew-niece	kamūn	kon jao	
husband	māng	krau	
wife	prau	brēr	
coat	po	alo	
trousers	gonggeng	gang göng	
skirt	nīk	ning halach	
sandal	wakthīng	hanok	
earring	trāng	kawoin	
good	janap	kvo	
bad	ku-janap	hu-kvo	
false	n'deu	kānj	
true—honest	tiov	lānj	
pretty	sakon	jē	
pretty girl	lahōt tamhīk	n'ni brer jē	
ugly	ta-eum	hu-jē	
meagre	traī	sāch	
fat	oan (Tai)	kro	
thick	sdōm	dam	
thin	triū	kroy	
clean	tamtrik	a	
dirty	ku-tamtrik	hu-a	
high	salōng	plong	
low	sel	sō	
wide	kuang (Tai)	ploa	
narrow	kēb („)	dōn	
cheap	tok („)	dai	
rich	nōm	sach	
dear	pèng	dāng	
poor	jon	dāk	
young	plāy	plāy	
old	pachō	yu	
big	ado	nok	
small—little	kandīk	dot	
close to	tong nien	klob	

English	Nia-kuol	Talaing	Remarks
pleasant	sanuk (Tai)	méb	
painful	chöy	ké	
kind	ñum janap	jot ko	
evil	ñum kutè	hu fo	
light	cheng (Tai)	ama	
dark	kathün	klu	
cold	la-ngeum	kök	
hot	katao	} āi āo	
warm	ngenun		
many	klöng	num klānj	
few	ñüt	num ngi	
round	klum (Tai)	hādōm	
flat	bèn (Tai)	hābe	
strong	krīng	tot	
weak	yōm	hu-tot	
red	palhèng	haket	
white	sōng	bu	
black	pliet	ājok	
blue	} laichok		
green		sé saniet	
yellow	prajün	sé dakmit	
paddyfield	srē	ne	
rai	kmā	ku	
paddy	sròw	so	
rice	langkòw	hau	
cultivator	manī ba sre	ro ne	
hunter	prān	lēmē	
water	dāk	dach	
fire	kamat	amot	
firewood	oey	o	
house	sangki	hoi	
village	dong	kwānj	
roof	kamul	āmoijening	
floor	kadal	hādo	
ladder	tanun	anēn	
wall	hangmang	hadēng	
rice cooking pot	tambāy	hamai böng	
pail	} use of Taiwords	—	
basket		—	
net		noich	
hatchet	suang	mōi	
needle	kanchul	aneuin	
bow	kasun (Tai)	nu (nu)	
arrow	ta-nga	nu	
spear	changkrom	no	

English	Nia-kuol	Talaing	Remarks
sword	dao	seing	
gold	tongkom (Tai)	tũ	
silver	pra (k)	sõn	
iron	pasõy	asõa	
stone	tamo	mo	
earth	dé	doi	
salt	pa-ùol	beu	
sugar	dāk dān	hākṛē	
medecine	asrob	hau	
poison	kanni	ùichi	
tobacco	asrob	hau seuing	
horse	sé	chè	
stallion	se do kma	che mak	
mare	se do chul	che beu	
bullock	song	krēr	
buffalo	prieng	prieng	
dog	suol	klũ	
cat	mias	hakoa	
fowl	sāng	jānj	
cock	sāng do kma	janj mak	
hen	sāng do chul	janj beu	
hen's egg	vei sathũm	hamai janj	
elephant	jĩng	jeuing	
sambur	tabung	krāi	
lamang	chidok	pāng	
barking deer	bai		
wild ox	song krõh	aleuin krõb	
monkey	kanũi	noi	
tiger	yung bẽng	kla	
bird	kanjem	hajẽm	
crocodile	kayān	kiām	
serpent	klék	sum	
fish	ka	ka	
flea	jay	rāi	
fly	dui	rui	
milk	dāk do	dach do	
tree	dam so	nom chu	
cocoa palm	dam sék dõng	nom habṛēr	
diptherocarpus	dam kayāng	nom yẽ	
cotton	duol	dõ	
silk	mai (Tai)	soch	
grass	kampat	chũa	
flower	gāo	gāo	{ The identical word in many Khā dialects.

English	Nia-kuol	Talaing	Remarks
leaf	sala so	āna chu	
fruit	sèk so	sot chu	
forest	panom	kleub	
plain	tung (Tai)	kōk	
mountain	kuol	dū	
hill	tènom	doit plūng	
valley	hōb kuol	akrā dō	
river	dāk	dach bī	
rivulet	krōng	dach kreung	
eans	rūa (Tai)	klening	
chief-king	kalā péndé	kala doi	
to take	jiet	ket	
go	arl	ā	
have	nom	num	
not to have	ku-nom	hu-mūa	
come	lōng	kleung	
to be present	tong tūm	num	
boil water	lōk dāk	bo dach	
kindle a fire	jong kmat	hado amot	
to extinguish	plēt kmat	alot amol	
to live, to be	tong	mong duhāme	no
die	kajek	chot	
run	tariép	krip	
stop	yim	deuv	
sit down	tong	hajow	
lie down	buin	doit	
sleep	sangkui	h'leuin	
dream	bo	ābo	
awaken	dōl (tōl)	ngu	
eat	jia bong	jir böng	
drink	sung dāk	seung dach	
bite	kōt	ket	
stool	pēng	bōn	
stand	yōn (Tai ?)	hadāo	
strike	tub boy	hadōa	
see	kamai	ngūt, chen	
call	yeu	kuk	
throw	kavieng	kavieng to	
drop	ché	ché	
fight	rob, skō	dak nir ko	
lift	yuk (Tai)	yāch hādōn	
do, work	ba	ba to	
do evil	ba lōt	ba halam bāb	
dance	ram (Tai)	le	

English	Nia-kuol	Talaing	Remark
pull	kathling	dōng	
love	tré	chān	
hate	tamoan	thu	
get up	dō	hā lachador	
ride a horse	dun ché sè	dach chē	
fly (a bird)	phāl	bōr	
this	kongo	no	
Where are you going?	Arl pè nōw	Bi ā lor	
Where do you come from?	Pè lung yang hān	Kleung nu lor	
What is your name?	Pè chū yang hān	Amu ha lor rao	
How old are you?	Ayū pè tau mo	Bi ā yok mna chi	
How far is it?	Cha ngōy tau mo	Hua mna chi halonch	
What do you call this?	Ko pè cha mo	E no mubi kuk rāo	
Have you got eggs?	Veī sathūm pè nōm go	Binnū hāmai chanj hā	
Is the village head man present?	Pujai dōng tong go	Hayai bān num hā	

The above list of words is of course not at all complete, nor do I claim absolute correctness of spelling as this is my first attempt at such a philological essay. The reader will easily be able to pick out the words resembling Mohn; words resembling Kmēr are designated with a K and those resembling Kui or Sui with an S. Concerning the cardinal numbers these are nearly identical in Mohn, Kui, Nia Kuol, Kmēr and a great number of Khā languages.

Korat, Sept. the 4th, 1918.

E. SEIDENFADEN.

RUINS AT MUANG SING, KANBURI.

When I first suggested to the Council of the Siam Society that it would be well to put on record the existence of the ancient ruins at Muang Sing, I was unaware that they had already been described. His Royal Highness Prince Damrong has, however, kindly lent me a copy of M. de Lajonquière's book;¹ and now all that remains for me to do is to point out errors in the plan and consequently in the description, add one or two important facts—notably the existence of statuary—and give some description of the locality and whereabouts of these ruins, so perhaps enabling others to arrive at conclusions as to their origin and period.

Muang Sing is situated on the east bank of the Quaa Noi river in North Latitude $14^{\circ}2'$ and East Longitude $99^{\circ}15'$. It lies 20 miles due west of the modern Muang Kanburi, the latter town being situated at the junction of the Quaa Yai and Quaa Noi, the two branches forming the Meklong river.

The great outer walls measured approximately one kilometre on the side, and are now almost entirely covered with earth and bamboo jungle, remaining merely as huge mounds. At some points, perhaps in the vicinity of gate openings, there were inner walls running parallel to the outer walls but not so large. Without extensive clearing and digging it would not be safe to say whether the original wall was composed of laterite or brick as both occur, or whether an earthen wall was faced with these materials. On the western side the wall is adjacent to, and may have overlooked the river. This is not certain, however, as more detailed levelling might show that the depressed area to the east of the ruins had once been the river bed.

The Temple occupies a fairly central position within the outer walls and is rectangular in plan and oriented truly north and south. The exterior north and south faces measure 41 metres and the eastern and western faces 33 and $33\frac{1}{2}$ metres. On the south face the centre of the doorway is 17 metres from the south-west

¹ "The archaeological possessions of Siam" by M. le Commandant de Lajonquière. Paris 1909.

corner. The block plan made in 1915 shows no opening at all on the outside face of the north wall, nor do I remember one; yet on the internal face of the cloisters exist the "set-offs" for thickened walls, such as would support the "gopura" or tower surmounting a doorway. If there was a doorway on the northern face it was therefore nearly opposite the southern doorway.

The western doorway, of which I made a sketch² in 1914 (Plate I), is in fair preservation, and the centre of the doorway is 16 metres from the S. W. corner of the rectangle, and $17\frac{1}{2}$ metres from the N. W. corner. On the eastern face these measurements are reversed, the centre of the doorway being 16 metres from the N. E. corner. Thus the eastern and western doorways are not opposite one another, and this is I believe an important point in assigning a period to Brahminical work.

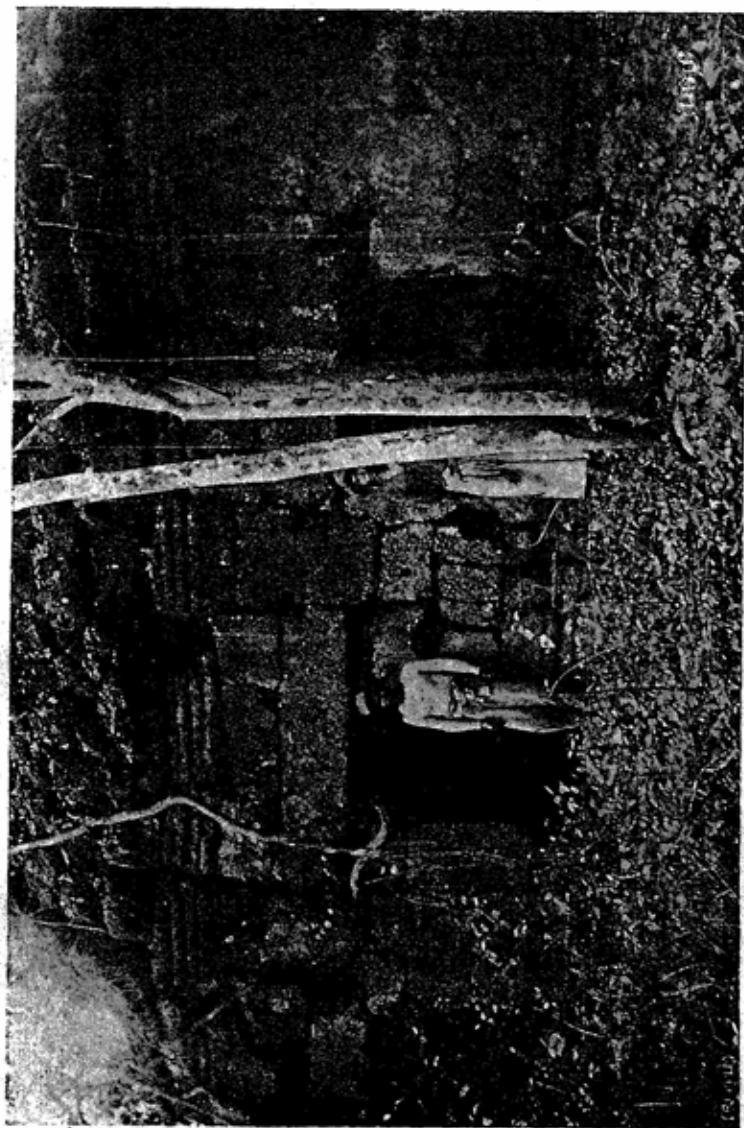
The measurements given above are of importance, as apparently M. de Lajonquière made only a hurried survey and measured only one face (probably the western, being in fair preservation) on which he has erected a hypothetical plan of an absolutely square building measuring 33 metres on the external faces, and which he describes as follows:—

"In the centre the square Sanctuary in laterite is open on all its sides; around it extends a system of four galleries, intercepted at the set-off of the axis of the Sanctuary by gopura with lateral halls following the four sides of a quadrilateral; covered galleries unite these gopura with the Sanctuary, the additional rectangular structure opening towards the west is placed in the south-east angle of the enclosure; on the outside, a laterite wall with a coping, which forms the second enclosure, has not been completed but the sras (tank) has been regularly dug out on the west.

"All this is very much in decay, chiefly the Sanctuary and the converging galleries. However when I was able to distinguish the outstanding lines of the building under the mass of fallen stones I perceived, first, that the quadrilateral of the

² I have compared the sketch with a photograph, and find I have omitted the socket holes at the sides wherein formerly was bedded the wooden lintel of the doorway.

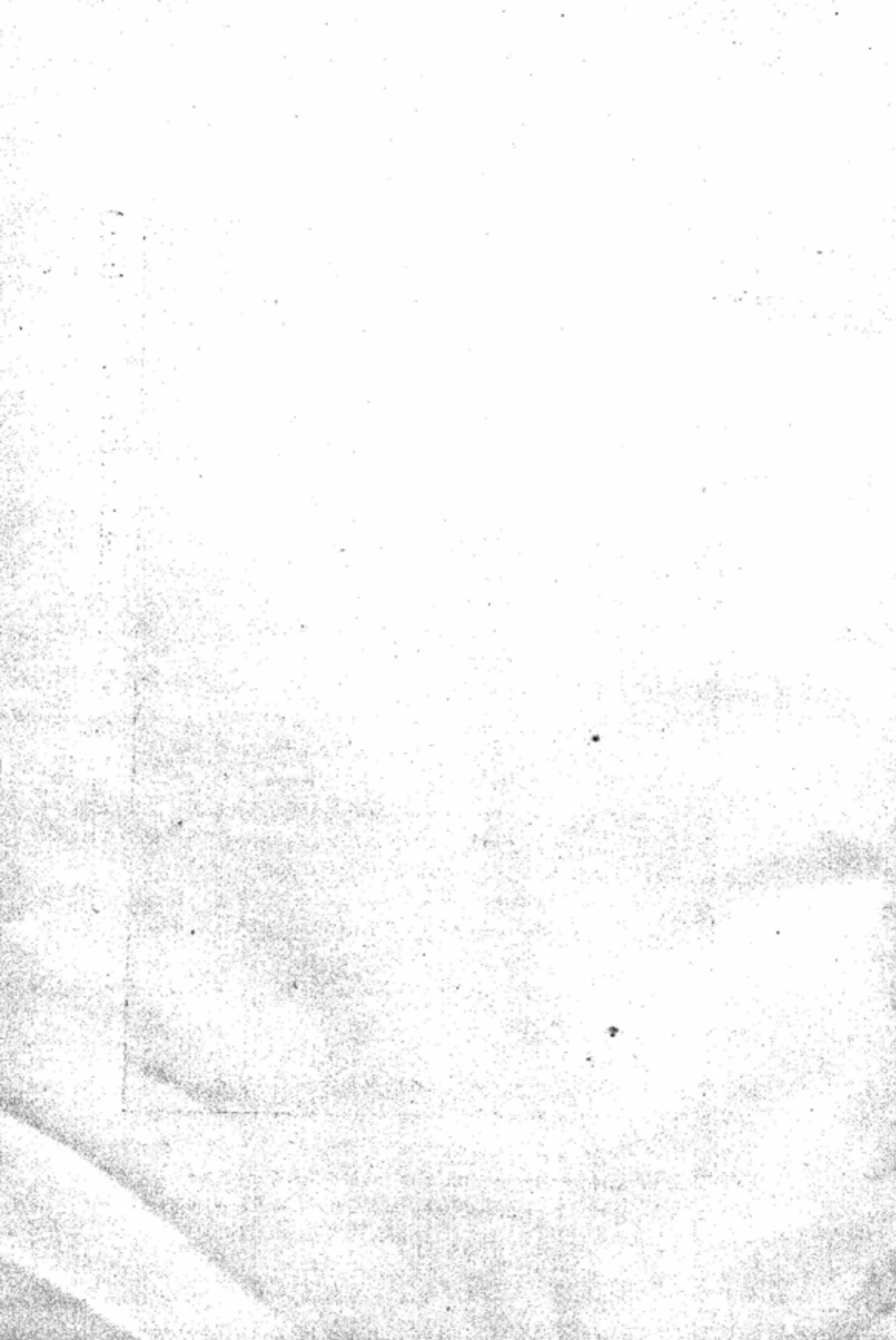
PLATE II



Cloisters along the North Wall; view from inside the walls.

(4.7.21.)

MUANG SING, KANBURI



“galleries was square and not rectangular; 2nd, that the north
 “and south axis of the Sanctuary was on a median line and
 “had not been turned towards the West; 3rd, that there was no
 “trace of decoration on the doors; 4th, that all the structures had
 “been covered both outside and inside by a layer of lime; 5th, that
 “a fragment of this layer still adheres to the outside cornice of
 “the second terrace of the eastern gopura. There were traces of
 “ornamental design not to be found in the Cambodian decorations.
 “Here we have traces which do not permit of the complete identi-
 “fication of this temple with those built by the Kambujas. Al-
 “though there was no statue at Muang Sing, only some sunk
 “pedestals of washing basins, one may say that considering its
 “arrangement, this temple was consecrated to the cult of Brahma.”

I have no reason to doubt the measurements given above, which have been taken off a large scale block plan made by the Royal Survey Department in 1915 and which I spent several hours checking myself. M. de Lajonquière's premises may therefore be considered incorrect:—the temple is rectangular. Secondly:—the mass of stones representing the Sanctuary and a small portion of the north-east external corner of the Sanctuary still intact, are immediately north of the southern doorway, and thus the Sanctuary was not on a median line but was some seven metres nearer to the western doorway than to the eastern.

It is doubtful, too, whether the covered galleries, or cloisters, ran the entire length of the outer walls as shown on M. de Lajonquière's plan. In the south-east angle, there would certainly have been room for a gallery, but it would have blocked out all light from the grille window of the isolated library or treasury, and my plan shows no trace of any second wall containing galleries such as occurs on the north side, and also the heaps of fallen masonry diminish in volume at this point.

The gallery in the N. E. corner of the north wall is in good preservation (Plate II) and the plate affords some idea of the size of the laterite blocks employed and of the scheme of decoration.

In the north-west angle the arrangement was somewhat different, the gallery on the western wall having only one doorway, and on the north the gallery wall was thickened out considerably

and projects beyond the general line of the gallery wall in the N. E. angle.

At a point near one of the gallery doorways I dug down a short distance hoping to discover paving, but at a depth of 18 inches the first step of the foundations appeared, and nothing was found, save lime mortar and a few broken pieces of coarse red pottery.

The ground level within the temple walls was raised some two or three feet above that of the surrounding courtyard, the latter again being raised slightly above the general level. The doors must therefore have been approached by stairways now obscured. The courtyard is enclosed by a dwarf wall above one and a half metres in height, and portions of which are still standing on all save the western side, but on this side the foundations remain. This wall varied in distance from the temple, on the west being 15 metres distant, on the north and south side 22 metres and on the eastern side 37 metres.

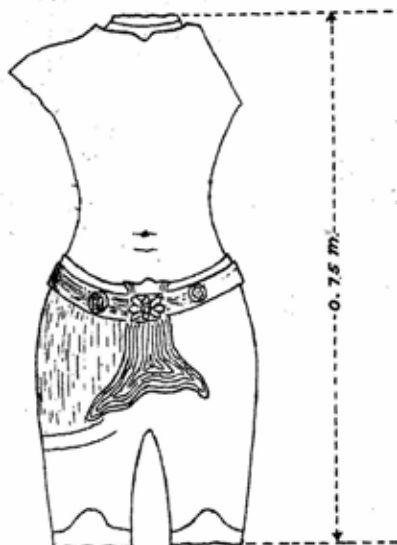
The wall was substantial and had a plinth, and a coping of peculiar design, but I regret to say the sketches have been mislaid.

Outside this dwarf wall on the north side is a square platform composed of laterite blocks, and on these are the remains of a large and a small "Prachedi."

These have fallen in and now present the appearance of hollow craters. In front of these again to the east is a considerable area of low ground, and also to the west of the Temple are other similar areas, which probably indicate "Sahs" or tanks. A little digging was done in these, but again only red pottery was found.

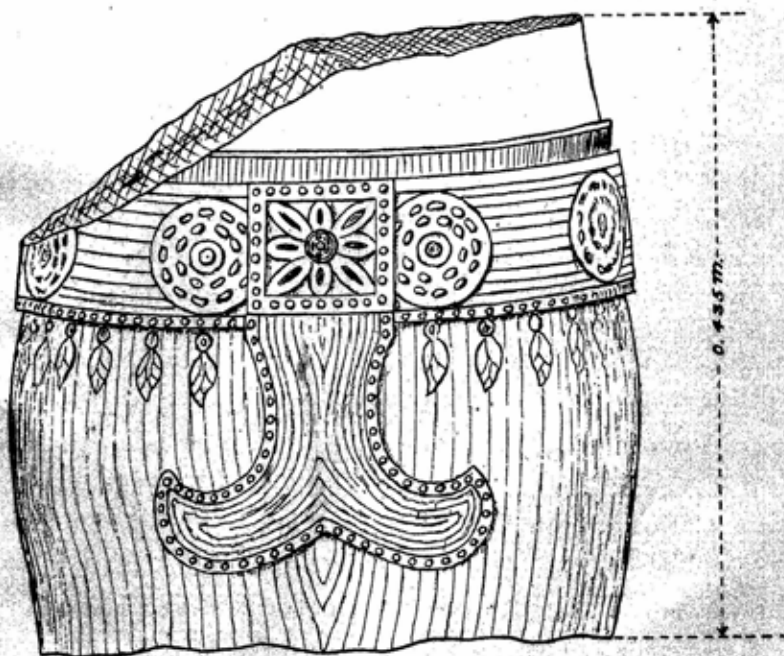
Some time in May 1915, priests or villagers excavated two stone figures (Plate III), the ornamentation still surprizingly sharp. The stone employed was a hard grey sandstone. These were found on the eastern front.

On the eastern tower a good deal of plaster still adheres to the stonework, and it looked as though this plaster had been added at a much later date or had been repaired. Only at one point was ornamental plaster observed, and that the remains of a frieze or cornice, the detail of which is reproduced on Plate I. M. de Lajonquière assumes that the whole building was originally covered



(1) Stone figure.

Circumference of waist 0.695m.



(2) Stone figure Back view.

Circumference of waist 1.31m.

with plaster; but had the original founders intended to cover the building and use plaster ornamentation they surely would not waste labour in carving so unkind a material as laterite stone. Summing up M. de Lajonquière says:—

“In the south-east angle of a regular inclosure formed by raised pieces of ground which limit an area measuring 4 square kilometres we appear to have one of these Hindu-Brahmin Kingdoms which were plentifully distributed in the Siamese valley before the arrival of the Thais. But what was this Kingdom? I have not found either at Muang Sing or in the surroundings any inscription or indication regarding it. Thirty kilometres to the east on the great arm of the Meklong there certainly existed an old Thai town named Kanchanaburi, which was somewhat famous and seems likewise to have been a King's residence.” M. de Lajonquière then suggests that perhaps these two towns were contemporaneous, neither being very ancient, and that Muang Sing was perhaps the work of some Cambodian colony brought there in exile after the great wars of freedom.

For this suggestion I can see no justification at all, as it was hardly the custom of mediaeval kings to allow exiles to build palaces of stone for themselves within a few kilometres of their capitals. It seems far more probable that Muang Sing was already long in existence and was destroyed by the Thai King of Kanburi, who perhaps afterwards repaired Muang Sing with brick, and held it as an outwork at the mouth of the passes from Tavoy.

As to whether the founders of Muang Sing came from the east, as M. de Lajonquière supposes, or from Tavoy in the west, I am not competent to offer an opinion, but it seems a natural spot to choose as a fort or as a halting place.

On the west bank, opposite Muang Sing, is the mouth of the Me Kraban stream, which rises twelve miles away to the south-west. Near the source of this stream, and opposite a hot-spring, the great dividing range or watershed between Siam and Burma drops to 359 metres above sea level—the lowest pass for several hundred miles north or south. The better known “Amla” pass five miles to the south and the “Bongti” pass, followed by the new

telegraph line, 11 miles to the north, are both over 600 metres in elevation.

The rugged limestone mountains dividing the two branches of the Meklong cease in the latitude of Muang Sing, and on the east bank of the Meklong the continuous mountain ranges extending from several hundred miles to the north cease in this latitude also. Thus Muang Sing probably stood on the route all travellers would take coming from Tavoy in the west, and skirting the foothills on their way to Sri Vijaya (Nakon Patom) and Lopburi.

The Quaa Noi river, on which these ruins stand, is far more navigable than the Quaa Yai, for, although the latter has double the discharge of water, it has a far steeper gradient and many more rapids.

Were the builders of Muang Sing as skilled in the use of timber as in hard stone, a further point which may have appealed to them in choosing this site is that, on the Quaa Noi, teak timber grows in considerable quantities and is easily accessible; whereas on the Quaa Yai, it exists only very much further north and is most difficult to extract.

Persons desirous of visiting these ruins should make for the village of Ta-ki-len near by, and there obtain a guide, as the ruins are overgrown and lie in such a tangle of bamboo jungle that some time may be spent searching for the Temple even when the outer walls have been found and crossed. By following the road from Kanburi to Ta-ki-len the site of the ancient Muang Krut will be crossed. This lies under and to the north of Kow Kaaoh, six kilometres due east of Muang Sing. I did not visit this place myself, but so far as I remember the surveyors reported that there was very little to be seen.

K. G. GAIRDNER.

NOTE ON THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF LATERITE.

BY

R. BELHOMME, B.A.—B.A.I.—ASSOC. MEM. INST. C.E.—
VICE-PRESIDENT.

To the Student of the Archaeology of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula the word "Laterite" is an ever-recurring one inasmuch as most of the magnificent old ruins which have, more or less, resisted the ravages of climate and vegetation had been built with this material.

But while the name and the appearance of Laterite are familiar to the tourist and Archaeologist, the origin and structure of this stone seem to be little known to them and no wonder at this since Geologists, themselves, are far from having reached complete agreement thereon!

At the President's request, the writer has undertaken to condense, for the benefit of the lay reader, the latest theories propounded by eminent Geologists on the formation of Laterite.

The writer lays no claim to originality; this work is merely one of compilation.

What is Laterite ?

The Encyclopaedia Britannica describes the rock as being:—

" a red or brown superficial deposit of clay or earth
" which gathers on the surface of rocks and has been
" produced by their decomposition; it is very common
" in tropical regions."

Morrow Campbell, a great authority on the subject, describes the rock and its formation as follows:—

" Laterization is the process by which the hydroxides
" of ferric iron, aluminium and titanium are intro-
" duced into the mass of any rock near the surface.
" Laterization involves deposition only "

The careful reader will not fail to notice a discrepancy between these two statements, to wit:—

While both authorities agree that the process of Laterization is one of leaching followed by deposition, the Encyclopaedia Britannica tells us that the deposition takes place in " clay or earth "

while Morrow Campbell states that the deposition takes place "into the mass of any ROCK".

The point is of importance because, by the first theory, Laterite would be merely an indurated clay while, by the second, it would be a conglomerate.

Considering that soft Laterites, which harden by exposure, do exist, the writer is of opinion that deposition in clay or earth is the more common product to be called by that name.

How is Laterite formed?

The answer is implied in the two definitions already given but the process deserves lengthier and more detailed description:—

The rainwater which falls over a valley partly runs away on the surface and partly percolates slowly through the ground.

Such waters as slowly percolate through the ground travel over or through the different strata from a higher to a lower level until they reach a point of escape into a stream or a state of equilibrium.

These underground waters are commonly known as sub-soil or subterranean waters,

Suppose that a section be now cut across such a valley, we would find:—

At the bottom of the valley, a water course with its banks, then the two sloping sides which gradually rise to the top of the hills.

Since percolation takes place through the sloping strata of the valley these strata can be divided into three zones:—

- 1.—The zone of Non-Saturation—this zone includes all Strata through which the waters simply percolate without ever remaining in them;
- 2.—The zone of Intermittent Saturation—this zone includes all Strata in which the action of capillarity can temporarily hold the percolating waters down to the lowest point to which atmospheric oxygen can penetrate.
- 3.—The zone of Permanent Saturation—this zone clearly implies such waters as are imprisoned below the level of our stream.

Of these three zones the waters in the second, or zone of

Intermittent Saturation, are the ones active in the process of Lateritization.

For the sake of brevity, modern Geologists have coined a new word for these waters which are called "VADOSE" waters.

In tropical countries, such "VADOSE" waters contain more carbonic acid, alkaline carbonates, organic matters, etc., than in colder climates; they are also at a higher temperature.

All these elements explain why rocks that are leached by such waters, in the tropics, are more rapidly altered and also why Laterite is much more commonly met with in tropical countries than in colder ones.

Some of the changes brought about in rocks subject to the action of "Vadose" waters may be described as follows:—siliceous rocks are changed into alkaline silicates with evolution of carbonic acid—ferric rocks give rise to ferrous bi-carbonates—lime and magnesia are removed—double silicates of magnesia and alumina break up, yielding hydrous silicates of magnesia (which disappear in the tropics) and of alumina (which remain)—even quartz is slowly dissolved—certain double silicates yield the beautiful rock known as Serpentine while, in certain cases, the result appears in the form of Talc—in the case of ferriferous minerals, the iron would be gradually reduced and appear on the Surface as ferric hydrates and oxides.

With these facts in mind, let us now return to the banks of the stream in our imaginary section through the valley.

The section of our imaginary stream bed in the tropics would usually be as follows:—

One bank is steep, composed of decomposed schist below and capped with laterite; the other bank has a gradual slope leading to a steep one, also capped with laterite. The "VADOSE" waters would reach the stream though the strata below this gradually sloping bank and here would occur the zone of lateritization—it is in this zone that laterite would now be forming.

It should here be remembered that laterite is not derived from a rock but is the result of the removal of the greater part of the mineral matter originally in that rock and the substitution in

its place of other mineral matter held in solution by the "vadose" waters :—"Leaching and Deposition."

The laterite mentioned as existing at the top of the steep banks would be dead laterite formed ages ago when the stream stood at a higher level.

The process of laterization cannot go on above the reach of "VADOSE" waters, but it also ceases if the thickness of the rock above becomes too great to allow of oxygen reaching the "VADOSE" waters.

From this imaginary section and the process above described we can now deduce the reasons why Laterite occurs in layers and why the thickness of these layers is generally limited to about less than 30 feet :—

It is in layers : because the process of laterization can only proceed in the zone of "VADOSE" waters ;

It is of fairly regular thicknesses (about 20 feet) : because, as Laterite beds thicken, their rate of formation diminishes rapidly owing to the obstacle the formation itself presents to the access of oxygen.

Returning once more to our imaginary Stream : sooner or later, the stream would be hemmed in by the newly formed Laterite escarpments and the resistance of the latter would prevent rapid widening of the stream.

As soon as the stream has dug down into its bed, widening would become much more rapid owing to undermining. The Laterite would break away, first on one bank and then on the other. The channel across the bed would gradually be widened and deepened, the zone of Intermittent Saturation would be lowered and the process of Laterization would start again at a deeper level.

The reader should remember that the process here so shortly described takes hundreds of years in its evolution and that the movements of our imaginary stream bed are much quicker than the phenomenon of laterization.

Water that leaches rocks and transports and deposits their contents into other rocks, such as shales and clays, in such a manner as to alter those latter into Laterite must be active for centuries.

A remark which is of importance and which will now be easily understood is that:—only porous rocks are capable of being laterized.

Clay is a substance receptive of water and so we come to conciliate the two definitions of Laterite given at the outset.

Many varieties of Laterite have been recognised:—the useful building material known in India as “kunkar” is a calcareous laterite and serves as a hydraulic cement; in Ceylon a kind of clay locally known as “cabook” is also a variety of laterite; in some districts of the West-Indies the name of “puzzolana” is wrongly given to a variety of calcareous laterite.

In Siam, the stone, although of frequent occurrence in the Northern valleys, does not appear to be used to any extent to-day; bricks seem to be more in favour and it is quite interesting to notice, when visiting the ruins of PHIMAI, the erection, now going on, of a Temple in brickwork and on modern lines by the side of the gorgeous old monuments. Doubtless, labour costs, the lack of roads and other economical questions, supply the explanation for the preference now enjoyed in the country by bricks.

The traveller that loiters about the magnificent ruins of Siam and Cambodia is struck by the almost universal presence of large basins dug, in symmetrical positions, around the monument, and popular tradition has it that these basins (now ponds) were the quarries from which the Laterite was obtained.

Four such basins are to be found at the four corners of the ruins at PHIMAI and no stone whatever can be seen for many miles around these wonderful monuments.

In the light of the explanations given above, the belief that the Laterite was obtained from these excavations is a most plausible one and the presence at Phimai of the river bed (Semoun river) close to the ruins adds weight to the assertion.

The Ancients apparently knew of old that if, within certain distances from their streams, they were to dig a hole into the ground, they would soon meet the zone (present or past) of Intermittent Saturation of their valley, and therein find the coveted Laterite for the erection of their Magnificent Monuments. They would, in the process of digging, probably first find a hard bed (old Laterite) and, after digging through it, find, lower down, a softer bed (Laterite in formation) which would harden in air. Tradition among the neighbouring inhabitants also asserts that the Laterite was soft when obtained hence the possibility of hewing it easily when building the Temples. Here again, Science tells us that the old tradition is within the limits of possibility.

LATERITE OR LIMONITE ?

Monsieur Commaille, in his fine work on Angkor Wat (Guide aux Ruines d'Angkor, Paris 1912) states that only three materials entered into the construction of these Stupendous monuments, viz : Limonite, Sandstone and Wood. His statement is supplemented by the following details (translated) :—

“ The *limonite* and the sandstone which compose the edifices
 “ of the two Angkors (i.e. Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom)
 “ and of the neighbouring temples came from the mountains
 “ of Koulen, some 30 kilometres E N. E. of the ruins.
 “ ON THE SUMMIT and on THE SIDES of the mountains
 “ are to be seen the quarries (PUITS D'EXTRACTION)
 “ about three-quarters full of water, especially during the
 “ rainy season, and forming regular cisterns”.

This statement contains the fact that the limonite was extracted from the summit and the sides of the mountain.

If the reader would kindly remember the statements made above, when describing the Section across our imaginary Valley, he would find that Laterite was stated to “ Cap ” our cliffs and also be present on the banks of our stream.

Commandant Lunet de Lajonquière in “Le Domaine Archéologique du Siam” describing the ruins of :—PHANNIEP, SAXANA-

LAI, MUANG SING, PHANAT, MUANG PHRA ROT &c., &c., states that the stone used in these monuments was "Limonite". Other travellers who have visited the same ruins state them to be in "Laterite".

Is then Laterite the same thing as Limonite?

The Encyclopaedia Britannica states that Limonite is

"a NATURAL FERRIC-HYDRATE named from the Greek word "meadow" in allusion to its occurrence as "bog-ore" in marshes and meadows"—"it occurs in concretionary or in compact and earthy masses"—"the colour presents various shades of brown and yellow" (not red or black).

James Park, the New Zealand Geologist, describes limonite as being:—

"a superficial ore-body formed by the action of descending waters which act upon and concentrate ORES disseminated in adjacent country rocks".

The same Authority also tells us that, in Mexico:—

"valuable deposits of Limonite, resulting in a large measure from the alteration of the carbonate ore (lead) occur in shales and limestone in chemically eroded hollows and caverns. . . ."

also that:—

"The ores of iron of commercial value are siderite, LIMONITE or brown Haematite," &c., &c.

Dana, the famous American Authority, describes Limonite as being:—

"Brown Haematite, Bog-iron ore, A common ORE of IRON which is always secondary in its origin, formed through the alteration or solution of previous existing iron minerals." He further proceeds

to state that the alteration or solution is due to the action of percolating waters.

Professor Grenville Cole describes Limonite as being :

“ a common earthy brown product of the alteration
“ of ferriferous minerals.”

From all these descriptions one might infer that Laterite is a rock whereas Limonite is an ore. This inference would find its justification in the following fact :—Geologists have observed that in certain Laterites a crystalline ferric hydrate often lines passages or cracks in the mass : its colour is orange to bright red.

Professor Lacroix (*Les Latérites de la Guinée et les produits d'altération qui leur sont associés*. Paris, 1913) considers this mineral to be Limonite. From this it might be inferred that Limonite may exist in Laterite and the statement of much a high Authority as Prof. Lacroix would tend to show that while Limonite can exist in Laterite, yet the two terms are not synonymous.

We know that Laterite exists in large masses whereas Limonite is comparatively rare, hence the conclusion could be upheld that what the French Archaeologists have hitherto named Limonite is (at least in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula) a misnomer for Laterite.

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- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
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Meteorological Data Registered in Bangkok during the year 1918.

SHADE TEMPERATURES IN FAHRENHEIT AND CENTIGRADE THERMOMETER SCALES.

Month	Mean		Mean of Maxima		Mean of Minima		Highest Recorded		Lowest Recorded		Greatest daily range		Least daily range		Mean daily range	
	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C
January	71.3	21.8	80.1	26.7	61.9	16.6	86	30.0	56	13.3	22	12.2	14.0	7.7	18.2	10.1
February	78.0	25.6	86.5	30.3	68.5	20.3	90	32.2	62	16.7	23	12.4	15.0	8.4	18.5	10.3
March	82.7	28.1	90.6	32.5	74.7	23.6	97	36.1	71	21.7	19	10.5	13.0	9.4	15.9	8.8
April	84.4	29.2	93.1	33.9	77.8	25.6	97	36.1	73	22.8	21	11.6	11.0	6.1	16.6	9.2
May	84.2	28.9	91.4	33.1	77.1	25.0	96	35.6	75	23.9	18	10.0	10.0	5.5	14.3	8.0
June	84.4	29.2	92.2	33.3	76.8	25.0	100	37.8	74	23.3	24	13.3	6.0	3.3	15.8	8.5
July	85.2	29.5	92.6	33.6	77.6	25.3	96	35.6	75	23.9	20	11.1	10.0	5.5	15.0	8.3
August	83.3	28.6	89.1	31.7	77.0	25.0	93	33.9	74	23.3	18	10.0	9.0	5.0	12.8	7.1
September	83.3	28.6	88.6	31.4	76.5	24.7	91	32.8	74	23.3	15	8.3	9.0	5.0	12.8	7.1
October	82.6	28.1	88.5	31.4	76.0	24.4	92	33.3	73	32.8	17	9.0	8.0	4.5	12.5	7.0
November	82.4	28.1	88.6	31.4	75.0	23.9	91	32.8	72	22.2	17	9.0	10.0	5.5	13.6	7.5
December	81.0	27.2	88.0	31.1	72.0	22.2	93	33.9	63	17.2	22	12.2	9.0	5.0	16.1	8.8

Mean Temperature in shade during 1918=81.9° F. (27.7° C.)

Rainfall and Atmospheric Humidity during the year 1918.

Month	Rainfall during month		Greatest Rainfall in any 24 hours		Number of days on which rain fell	Percentage Mean Relative Humidity
	Inches	Millimetres	Date	Amount		
				Inches	Millimetres	
January ...	0.0	0.0	—	0.0	0.0	64.0
February ...	0.19	4.8	15th	0.19	4.8	67.2
March ...	2.85	72.4	12th	1.25	31.7	65.8
April ...	1.29	33.0	23rd	0.71	17.8	62.3
May ...	3.72	94.5	10th	1.33	33.7	71.0
June ...	6.84	174.0	10th	1.60	40.6	63.0
July ...	3.00	76.2	28th	0.58	14.7	65.0
August ...	9.62	244.3	22nd	1.56	39.6	72.2
September ...	9.93	252.2	13th	2.34	59.7	74.0
October ...	8.23	209.0	8th	4.37	111.0	75.0
November ...	1.08	27.4	9th	0.40	10.2	74.0
December ...	0.03	0.76	20th	0.02	0.5	66.8

Total Rainfall during the year 1918 = 46.78 inches (1188.26 mm.)

H. CAMPBELL HIGGETT, M.D., D.P.H.
Medical Officer of Health.

Mean and Extreme Temperature in Shade in Bangkok during 17 years (1902-1918) in Fahrenheit and Centigrade Scales.

Month	MEANS								EXTREMES									
	Mean		Mean of Maxima		Mean of Minima		Mean Daily Range		Greatest Daily Range		Least Daily Range		Highest Maximum		Lowest Minimum			
	F.	C.	F.	C.	F.	C.	F.	C.	F.	C.	F.	C.	F.	C.	F.	C.		
Year	F.	C.	Year	F.	C.	Year	F.	C.	Year	F.	C.	Year	F.	C.	Year	F.	C.	
January	78.0	25.6	89.4	31.9	66.3	19.0	23.3	12.9	40	22.2	5	2.6	1906-07	100	37.8	1907-14	54	12.2
February	81.4	27.4	92.0	33.3	70.7	21.5	21.3	11.8	41	22.6	3	1.6	1906	106	41.1	1902	56	13.3
March	84.6	29.2	94.0	34.4	76.2	23.4	19.2	10.6	37	20.5	2	1.1	1903	103	39.4	1908	62	16.7
April	87.0	30.6	96.1	35.6	77.0	25.0	13.2	7.3	32	16.6	8	4.6	1906	106	41.1	1904	68	20.0
May	85.9	30.0	94.4	34.7	76.5	24.7	17.8	9.8	30	16.6	5	2.6	1906	106	41.1	1910	71	21.7
June	84.6	29.2	92.0	33.3	76.2	24.5	15.8	8.7	25	13.9	5	2.6	1902-03-18	100	37.8	1909	70	21.1
July	84.1	28.9	91.5	33.1	75.9	24.4	15.5	8.6	25	13.9	6	3.3	1908	101	38.3	1908-11-16	71	21.7
August	83.7	28.7	91.0	32.8	75.8	24.3	15.1	8.4	24	13.3	6	3.3	1906	99	37.2	1911	72	22.2
September	83.0	28.3	90.0	32.2	75.5	24.2	14.4	8.0	24	13.3	6	3.3	1906	98	36.7	1902	70	21.7
October	82.2	27.8	89.3	31.8	75.0	23.9	14.3	7.9	27	14.0	5	2.6	1906	100	37.8	1906	64	17.8
November	79.9	26.7	87.4	30.8	71.7	22.0	16.1	8.9	31	17.2	4	2.2	1907	99	37.2	1906	56	13.3
December	77.6	25.3	87.0	30.6	67.4	19.7	19.5	10.8	33	18.3	6	3.3	1906	100	37.8	1907	52	11.1

Mean Shade Temperature during 17 years=82.6° F. (28.1° C.)

Mean and Extreme Rainfall in Bangkok during 17 years (1902-1918).

Month	MEANS			EXTREMES		
	Rainfall during month		Number of days on which rain fell	Per Centage Relative Humidity	Date	Amount
	Inches	Millimetres				
January ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
February ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
March ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
April ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
May ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
June ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
July ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
August ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
September ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
October ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
November ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
December ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	0.297	7.6	1.5	66.9	19th of 1912	1.11
	0.490	12.4	2.2	67.1	25th " 1910	2.47
	2.165	54.8	3.8	66.1	31st " 1912	5.35
	1.470	37.3	4.9	61.4	18th " 1904	2.13
	7.405	188.0	16.0	67.1	8th " 1903	4.50
	5.876	149.1	18.0	72.4	15th " 1917	2.27
	5.838	149.1	19.7	72.3	5th " 1917	3.87
	7.357	186.7	20.4	73.7	23rd " 1912	2.43
	12.550	318.8	22.0	76.0	15th " 1909	3.70
	9.125	260.3	18.5	78.4	8th " 1918	4.37
	2.840	72.1	6.9	75.0	6th " 1909	3.70
	0.430	10.9	2.7	70.0	23rd " 1914	0.97

Mean Annual Rainfall during 17 years = 55.843 inches (1418.3 m.m.)

H. CAMPBELL HIGGINS, M.D., D.P.H.

Medical Officer of Health.

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